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Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2024 • \$5

# Trump says he'll tap Patel to lead FBI

Loyalist eyed to replace Wray, who would have to resign or be fired

BY MARK BERMAN

President-elect Donald Trump said Saturday that he planned to replace FBI Director Christopher A. Wray with Kash Patel, a move that would install a staunch loyalist atop an agency Trump has repeatedly criticized.

This pick — which cannot happen unless Trump fires Wray or the FBI director steps down before the end of his 10-year term — comes as the president-elect has rolled out appointments and proposed nominations that appear aimed at putting his political allies in key positions where officials and agencies had contradicted or angered him in the past.

The FBI has long been a target of Trump's anger. While in office and afterward, Trump derided the country's premier law enforcement agency as "badly broken" and said it "lost the confidence of America." Trump has also singled out Wray, whom he picked to be the FBI director during his first term, for criticism over the years.

FBI directors typically have 10-year tenures, unique among appointments in the executive branch. That span, which extends beyond two consecutive presidential terms, was imposed in 1976 as a post-Watergate government reform effort.

The position also requires Senate confirmation, though it's unclear whether there will be strong

SEE FBI ON A2

**Russian view:** How commentators feel about Trump's Cabinet. **A16**



OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rebels ride through Aleppo on Saturday, a day after breaching Syria's largest city. The group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham is leading the offensive.

# For Iran, Hezbollah cease-fire is chance to regroup

BY SUSANNAH GEORGE, SUZAN HAIDAMOUS AND MUSTAFA SALIM

DUBAI — The cease-fire last week between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon has relieved some of the pressure, at least temporarily, that was building on the militant group's key patron, Iran.

Iranian officials have publicly framed the halt in fighting as a victory for their ally. But behind the scenes, they worked quietly for a cease-fire, diplomats said, a tacit admission of the damage Israel inflicted on an organization essential to Tehran's strategy of deterrence.

For more than a year, Iran has navigated soaring tensions unleashed by the war in Gaza, where Israel is battling Hamas, another ally of Tehran. It has at times engaged with Israel directly, including in tit-for-tat strikes, although it has generally stayed out of the fray, allowing allied militias to go on the attack.

But once the low-simmering conflict between Israel and Hezbollah exploded into war, and Israel decimated the group's senior leadership, pressure on Iran escalated exponentially. One of its commanders was killed in the September strike targeting long-time Hezbollah leader Hasan

Nasrallah.

Then in October, Israel carried out multiple airstrikes targeting Iran's air defense systems and missile production facilities — an operation that compelled Iranian leaders to push for a cease-fire, according to Western and regional diplomats briefed on the talks who, like others quoted in this report, spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss sensitive communications.

"We now know that those attacks were quite severe," one Western diplomat said of the Israeli strikes in Iran, referring to a damage assessment conducted by

the diplomat's government. "They were feeling the heat," the diplomat said of Iranian leaders.

But any respite could be brief: Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, in an address to the nation, said he supported the cease-fire in Lebanon so that Israel could "focus on the Iranian threat."

"I am determined to do anything needed to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon," he said Tuesday.

Iranian officials have for months suggested the country

SEE IRAN ON A14

**Hezbollah stronghold:** Photos from a Beirut suburb in ruins. **A12**

# Trump looms over Biden's final acts

BY KAREN DEYOUNG

President-elect Donald Trump's threat Monday to impose a 25 percent tariff on imports from Canada and Mexico — one of a barrage of shots fired daily from Mar-a-Lago since his election victory — landed like a bombshell in Ottawa.

On Friday, after days of angst and an emergency "Team Canada" meeting with all 10 provincial premiers, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau jumped on a plane and flew to Palm Beach, Florida. He spent three hours at Trump's Mar-a-Lago residence and golf club, one of 11 others crowded around Trump at a table in the middle of the busy members dining room.

David McCormick, the Republican senator-elect from Pennsylvania, posted a photo of the dinner on X, writing how "honored" he was to be there, and declaring they were ready to "shake things up" in Washington. He made no mention of Trudeau's presence among them.

In a Truth Social post Saturday, Trump called the meeting "very productive." He said Trudeau had made a commitment to "work with us" on the border, trade and

SEE TRANSITION ON A10

**Oreshnik missile:** Threat to NATO security at critical moment. **A15**



ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID D. ROBBINS JR./THE WASHINGTON POST; AP PHOTOS

# In the NFL, it's hut, hut, write

Players are putting their thoughts to rest by recording them in journals

BY ADAM KILGORE

Buffalo Bills wide receiver Khalil Shakir considers himself an overthinker, and midway through last season he sensed his mind whirling to a degree that affected his sleep. Shakir sought a way to improve his mental health, and he still doesn't know where the impulse came from. He decided he would write out those onrushing thoughts before he climbed into bed at night.

"I was like, 'Screw it; I'll just put it down on paper,'" Shakir said. "And it worked."

Shakir had joined the ranks of a large if hidden population: National Football League players who journal. In locker rooms across the league, more than a dozen players recently

shared their conviction in the benefits of journaling, a habit they use to confront the stress inherent to a profession that invites scrutiny while suppressing sensitivity.

It's impossible to place a precise number on NFL players who journal, but "it's definitely more than it seems," Bills backup quarterback Shane Buechele said. Many players who said they do not keep a journal knew teammates who did, and some expressed either previous or current interest in starting one.

Mental health awareness has grown more entrenched in sports and society, but players said they still sometimes feel more comfortable working through struggles and hopes with the

SEE JOURNALS ON A8

**What a run:** Derrick Henry and Saquon Barkley return NFL running backs to the spotlight. **D1**

# Noem builds reputation over southern border

How Trump's homeland security pick became so invested in a crisis 1,500 miles from her state

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER AND PETER JAMISON

Gov. Kristi L. Noem was about to seize the spotlight, and she wanted to make the most of it.

In June 2021, the South Dakota Republican was preparing to announce that her state would be the first to send National Guard troops to the U.S.-Mexico border in response to an appeal from Texas. What's more, she was mobilizing the state's forces in a highly unusual way — bankrolled by an out-of-state billionaire.

After a last-minute conversation with the governor, Noem's chief of staff changed her quote in a news release drawn up for the announcement — "to represent more accurately her stance on this issue," as her top adviser wrote in an internal email. No longer would Noem praise border-state governors. Instead, she would declare bluntly: "The border is a national security crisis."

The edits are included in hundreds of pages of emails and other documents released by the National Guard in response to a Freedom of Information Act request by the watchdog group Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington. The documents show how the governor and her team positioned her as a hard-liner on immigration despite the 1,500 miles separating South Dakota from the southern border.



Gov. Kristi L. Noem of South Dakota called for multiple deployments of National Guard troops to help Texas.

The efforts, beginning with the deployment of about 50 members of the National Guard in the summer of 2021, intensified over the next three years. Noem ordered two additional deployments, paid for by state taxpayers. And she steadily escalated her rhetoric.

In an address before a joint session of her state's legislature earlier this year, the governor declared: "South Dakota is directly affected by this invasion. We are affected by cartel presence on our tribal reservations; by the spread of drugs and human trafficking throughout our communities; and by the drain on our resources at the local, state and federal level."

Politically, the work paid off. President-elect Donald Trump last month picked Noem to lead the Department of Homeland Security, a sprawling agency of more than 260,000 people charged with border enforcement, disaster response and other law enforcement responsibilities.

"Kristi has been very strong on Border Security," Trump said in

SEE NOEM ON A6

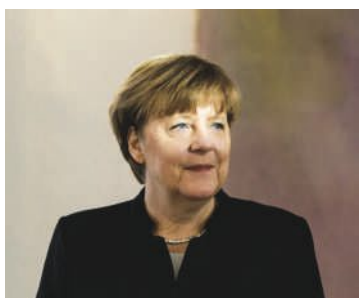
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# ‘DOGE’ tweets illustrate a virtually unattainable budget-slashing objective



**The Fact Checker**

GLENN KESSLER

*“In FY2023, the U.S. Government spent \$6.16 trillion while only bringing in \$4.47 trillion. The last budget surplus was in 2001. This trend must be reversed, and we must balance the budget.”*

— “Department of Government Efficiency” (DOGE), post on X, Nov. 23

*“How the Government Spends your Tax Dollars:*

- \$28 million on licensing fees for a green ‘camouflage’ pattern on Afghan National Army uniforms
- \$2.5 million on a Super Bowl Ad for the Census
- \$1.7 million for holograms of dead comedians
- \$500,000 to build an IHOP in Washington, DC”

— DOGE, post on X, Nov. 24

DOGE, the incoming Trump administration advisory panel headed by Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, has been posting

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on X, the social media platform owned by Musk, about the federal government’s spending. The posts have featured a mix of facts and figures, including those drawn from a USA Facts chart and a Reader’s Digest article on “11 Bizarre Things the U.S. Government Actually Spent Money On.”

Musk has spoken of trimming \$2 trillion from the federal budget. The 2024 fiscal year that ended in September had outlays of \$6.8 trillion, according to the Congressional Budget Office, so his goals would require nearly a 30 percent spending reduction. In fact, Musk’s target is close to the annual budget deficit of \$1.9 trillion. Coincidentally or not, the tweets show the impossibility of achieving DOGE’s goal of eliminating the budget deficit without significant increases in revenue — or slashing programs for the elderly. There’s also an added complication: Spending on old-age programs is only going to go up.

**The Facts**

It’s easy to find what appear to be nonsensical expenditures in the federal government. But scratch below the surface and there is usually an explanation.

For instance, DOGE listed a \$2.5 million Super Bowl ad for the Census. But Reader’s Digest provided the Census Bureau’s reasoning for the 30-second ad: For every 1 percent increase in mail-in responses it received, it would save \$85 million sending workers door-to-door to collect information. So what appears to be a waste of money was intended to reduce spending over time.

The other problem is that even if all these items were eliminated, it would not make much of a dent in the budget. The most substantive expenditure Reader’s Digest found was holding on to buildings that were no longer used. An NPR report said the government estimated that buildings could be costing taxpayers \$1.7 billion a year. Eliminating that would get DOGE less than 1/1,000th of the savings needed.

Let’s deconstruct the chart shown with the tweet about the need to balance the budget. The chart, as provided in the tweet, doesn’t show many numbers, so we’ve added CBO’s calculations.

**Revenue**

Under revenue, the chart has



Elon Musk, center, before Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu’s address to Congress in July, will be in charge of government efficiency, with Vivek Ramaswamy. The tech billionaire talks of \$2 trillion in budget cuts, but spending on old-age programs is only set to increase.

two big line items — individual income taxes (about \$2.5 trillion) and payroll taxes (\$1.6 trillion). Much smaller are corporate income taxes (\$525 billion), as well as customs duties, various sales and excise taxes (\$240 billion).

Now, complicating the math is that Trump wants to reduce individual and corporate income taxes by at least \$5 trillion over 10 years, making the revenue hole bigger. He also plans to increase tariffs, but that’s not going to be enough to make up the difference.

Payroll taxes are intended to fund specific programs such as Social Security and Medicare. So it would be difficult to cut spending here — and Trump promised he would not — without breaking commitments to retirees.

**Major spending**

Under spending, the chart has three big line items at the top — Social Security (\$1.45 trillion), national defense and veterans (\$1.1 trillion), and Medicare (\$900 billion).

Programs such as Social Security and Medicare are deemed “mandatory spending,” which means funding is not based on annual appropriations passed by Congress, but on how many people qualify for payments. Reducing spending in mandatory programs requires Congress to pass a new law that

changes or eliminates the funding stream.

Another looming issue is that both Social Security and Medicare face financial stress. If Congress does not take action, both will have to cut benefits in the mid-2030s. Trump’s proposal to end taxes on Social Security payments would hasten its financial difficulties.

Recall that we said payroll taxes were about \$1.6 trillion; just assume those taxes are funneled directly to Social Security, so they are mostly off the table.

But, looking ahead 10 years, the aging population means the number of people who rely on Social Security and Medicare will grow faster than the overall population. CBO projects that the federal budget will be \$10.3 trillion in 2034 — and that Social Security and Medicare will account for more than half of the \$3.4 trillion increase in spending. At current projections, payroll taxes will no longer fully fund those programs, so taxes must go up, benefits must go down, or funding has to come from the general government revenue, squeezing other programs.

Presumably there could be some savings in national defense — does the Army need nearly 100 bands? — but again, it would be on the margins. The DOGE account has tweeted about billions in defense payments that

cannot be tracked or have not been audited. Still, for political and national security reasons, national defense is difficult to cut — and weapons manufacturers are important job creators.

**Additional spending**

So what’s left? The tweet’s chart lists net interest on the debt (\$892 billion). That cannot be reduced unless the United States defaults on its obligations. Interest costs have tripled in the past 10 years, in part because of the debt added during the pandemic. CBO projects that by 2034, interest payments will double, to \$1.7 trillion — more than the cost of Medicare at that point.

That underscores the need to reduce the federal deficit, but it also demonstrates that a large part of the budget is off-limits.

So far, we’ve identified nearly \$4.4 trillion that would be difficult, if not impossible, to reduce. So, to meet the \$2 trillion goal, just about everything else would need to be eliminated.

According to the tweet’s chart, that would be assistance to individuals, mainly the nutritional and health-care programs (\$500 billion), transfers to the states (\$1.1 trillion) and other spending (\$600 billion). For many readers, “transfers to the states” might seem an odd item for the federal budget, but this would include aid to help states provide health

care for the poor (Medicaid), education, child services and transportation. If the federal government stopped providing these funds, then states would have significant budget shortfalls.

The “other spending” includes a grab-bag of things such as the national parks (\$3 billion), the National Weather Service (\$1.3 billion) and funding for arts programs like the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (\$500 million). Musk and Ramaswamy have said they will eliminate the appropriations for public broadcasting, but that’s not going to get them very far on the road to \$2 trillion.

**The Bottom Line**

A bird’s-eye view of the federal budget reveals that it is basically two things — a military, with a health and social insurance program attached to it. The rest of the budget may be more visible to Americans — parks, weather forecasts, highways, air traffic control — but amounts to relatively little money.

Of course, the budget deficit could be eliminated if revenue was increased to help pay for government services. DOGE apparently will look at only one side of the ledger — spending. That makes the task difficult and all but impossible without significant disruption in services that Americans have come to expect.

## Trump picked Wray after firing Comey as FBI director in 2017

**FBI FROM A1**

opposition once Patel is formally nominated.

“Kash is a brilliant lawyer, investigator, and ‘America First’ fighter who has spent his career exposing corruption, defending Justice, and protecting the American People,” Trump wrote on social media Saturday night.

Trump has repeatedly taken aim at norms and institutions during his political career, and his Saturday night announcement that he intends to replace an FBI director who has three years left in their tenure is the latest example.

Some of his efforts have been unsuccessful. Trump initially sought to nominate former congressman Matt Gaetz, a Trump ally and fervent critic of the Justice Department, to serve as attorney general. Gaetz withdrew from contention amid allegations that he had paid women, as well as a

17-year-old girl, for sex. Trump then said he would instead nominate Pam Bondi, a former Florida attorney general. In his statement Saturday evening, Trump said Patel would work with Bondi to “bring back Fidelity, Bravery, and Integrity to the FBI.”

By selecting Patel, Trump is seeking to replace Wray with a vociferous defender who has echoed his criticisms of what both men call the “deep state” and spoken approvingly of the need for retribution against perceived enemies. Patel’s name had also been floated as a possible pick to lead the CIA in a second Trump administration, but the president-elect selected John Ratcliffe instead.

The FBI in a statement Saturday evening did not address whether Wray plans to step down from his position.

“Director Wray’s focus remains on the men and women of the FBI, the people we do the work with,

and the people we do the work for,” the bureau’s statement said.

Patel, who worked in Trump’s first administration, has publicly mused about targeting journalists and government officials, and he published a list of “deep state” names in a book last year titled “Government Gangsters.” Promotional materials for the book included a quote from Trump, who called it a “roadmap highlighting every corrupt actor” and a “blueprint to help us take back the White House and remove these Gangsters from all of Government.”

Ahead of Trump’s announcement, Patel last weekend criticized federal law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, for not cooperating with Republican congressional investigations.

“The constitutional oversight responsibilities of the United States House of Representatives and the Senate has been lost by the leaders of the deep state in Washington, D.C., and I think President Trump is going to restore that with his selections and his nominees,” Patel said last Sunday in an interview on Fox News Channel’s “Sunday Morning Futures.”

Asked about former FBI deputy

director Andrew McCabe saying no part of the FBI would be “safe” with Patel in a leadership role at the agency, Patel said those accusations were baseless.

“Those calling me a danger, let’s just ask them for a proof, a piece of evidence that actually shows I’ve committed any constitutional violations or any ethical quandaries, and I’d love to hear their response to this,” Patel said.

Patel, whose given first name is Kashyap, has held numerous roles in and around government agencies for years, including stints as a public defender, a federal prosecutor and as the chief of staff to Christopher Miller, who was acting defense secretary during part of Trump’s first term, according to a biography posted by the Pentagon. In addition, Patel worked as a counterterrorism adviser in Trump’s first White House.

He also advised then-Rep. Devin Nunes (R-California) while the congressman was a fierce critic of the investigation into whether Trump’s 2016 campaign coordinated with Russian interference in that year’s presidential election. Later, after Trump left office, Patel appeared before a grand jury amid an investigation into Trump’s handling of classified materials.

In his announcement on Saturday, Trump praised Patel for his handling of the election interference inquiries, which Trump has roundly criticized. “He played a pivotal role in uncovering the Russia, Russia, Russia Hoax, standing as an advocate for truth, accountability, and the Constitution,” Trump said.

Appearing last year on “War Room” — the right-wing podcast hosted by longtime Trump ally Stephen K. Bannon — Patel said those who have wronged the 45th president would pay during a second Trump term. Asked about his plans if he served in Trump’s next administration, Patel vowed to “go out and find the conspirators not just in government, but in the

media.”

“Yes, we’re gonna come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens, who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections,” he continued, referencing Trump’s false claims that Biden stole the 2020 election. “We’re going to come after you, whether it’s criminally or civilly — we’ll figure that out.”

Wray has led the FBI since 2017. That year, Trump fired FBI Director James B. Comey amid the bureau’s investigation into whether Trump associates coordinated with Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election. Robert S. Mueller III, a former FBI director himself, was then appointed special counsel to oversee that investigation. Trump repeatedly castigated Mueller and the probe.

Trump selected Wray, who had been a senior Justice Department official under President George W. Bush, to lead the bureau as his replacement. He soon soured on Wray, complaining about the FBI director’s support for the Justice Department’s investigation into Russian interference, among other things. In 2020, while running for reelection, Trump complained that the FBI director was not doing enough to help his campaign and weighed firing Wray.

That same year, Trump considered installing Patel as the bureau’s deputy director, according to “I Alone Can Fix It,” a book written by two Washington Post journalists. William P. Barr, then attorney general, blocked the move, saying he would resign if it happened, according to the book.

The FBI director has given no indication since Trump’s victory that he intends to resign. In the days after the election, he was booking his schedule well into 2025, according to a person familiar with Wray’s leadership who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss information that has not been made public.

Vice President-elect JD Vance

mentioned last month that he and Trump were interviewing candidates for FBI director and wrote on social media that it was “important to get an FBI director who will dismantle the deep state.”

Former Republican congressman Mike Rogers’s name had circulated as a more traditional option to replace Wray. Rogers, who ran unsuccessfully for Senate in Michigan this year, is a former FBI agent and once chaired the House Intelligence Committee. But people close to Trump publicly quashed the idea about a week ago amid pushback from MAGA influencers, who suggested Rogers was not loyal enough.

After Trump left office in 2021, the FBI remained a target for criticism from Trump and his allies, who alleged that the bureau was unfairly targeting conservatives. In 2022, the FBI conducted a court-approved search for classified documents at Mar-a-Lago, Trump’s home and private club, prompting another cacophony of criticism and threats against FBI agents.

Testifying on Capitol Hill last year, Wray said it was “somewhat insane to me” to suggest he was biased against conservatives, given that he was a Republican appointed by another Republican.

Trump and his allies further criticized Wray this summer after the FBI director testified before Congress that there were questions about whether “a bullet or shrapnel” struck Trump during the July 13 assassination attempt in Butler, Pennsylvania. After a barrage of criticism, the FBI released a statement saying Trump was indeed hit by a bullet or bullet fragments.

Trump responded on social media, writing: “I assume that’s the best apology that we’ll get from Director Wray, but it is fully accepted!” The FBI interviewed Trump as part of its investigation into the shooting, and officials said he was cooperative.

Fenit Nirappil, Carol D. Leonnig, Hannah Knowles and Mariana Alfaro contributed to this report.

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# POLITICS & THE NATION



CARA ANNA/AP

A person clears the snow from the sidewalk in Lowville, New York. Gov. Kathy Hochul declared a state of emergency for parts of the state.

## Lake-effect snow buries states along Great Lakes, with more expected

Post-Thanksgiving travelers stranded as a stretch of I-90 in Pennsylvania and New York are closed

BY KELSEY ABLES,  
JISELLE LEE  
AND FRANCES VINALL

MADISON, OHIO — Great Lakes communities were pummeled with snow this weekend as unusually warm weather plunged into a lake-effect snow event that is expected to continue until Monday.

At least 30 inches had fallen in several places in Michigan's Upper Peninsula and along Lake Erie's shore in northern Pennsylvania and western New York, the National Weather Service said Saturday. At 2:30 p.m., the weather service tracked about 45 inches in Barnes Corners, New York, about 70 miles north of Syracuse.

New York Gov. Kathy Hochul (D) declared a state of emergency for parts of the state's north and west, including the city of Buffalo, and said the National Guard was helping.

Erie County, Pennsylvania, declared a snow disaster, urging residents and visitors to "please stay home, stay safe, and allow plow crews and first responders to do their work."

Road closures in the region included parts of Interstate 90 in Pennsylvania and New York, disrupting motorists traveling be-

tween Cleveland and Buffalo on one of the busiest holiday travel weekends of the year. Commercial vehicles were barred from I-90 between Rochester and the Pennsylvania border.

Stranded travelers, some covered in snow, took refuge in the lobby of a sold-out Hampton Inn in Madison, Ohio, lamenting interrupted journeys and recounting difficult drives.

Conditions were particularly rough along Lake Erie between Painesville and Madison. Small sedans struggled to navigate the snow-coated roadways — skidding, sliding and creeping along in a fight against rapidly piling snow. Cars got stuck in snow banks along the side of I-90. At times, visibility through windshields was severely restricted to a blur of white.

Phyllis and Kevin Buckland set out from Omaha early Friday with a back seat full of Christmas gifts for grandchildren in Elmira, New York. But about 800 miles into the 18-hour journey, the snow became impassable.

"Even with two or three cars in front of us, you could barely see where the tire tracks were," Phyllis Buckland said. "It was real windy, so there were a lot of drifts. It was

just too much. We're older, and I just can't do it anymore. My nerves were shot."

"We'll go there via Florida," Kevin Buckland joked, as snow swirled outside the hotel.

Two states away, Aunt Millie's Family Restaurant and Bakery has served truck drivers and the small western New York community of Irving for 37 years.

But not Saturday. Emily Cornwall, who runs her family's restaurant, said they used to tough out storms to stay open, but road closures and about 2 feet of snow were too onerous. The restaurant sits right off the state freeway, which was blocked off late Friday.

"We don't want to risk our employee safety, and how many customers are you really going to get at this point?" she said. "The first responders and tow truck drivers depend on us to be open."

The inconvenience of contacting about 50 employees was worthwhile to keep them safe, Cornwall said, but there is a growing possibility that the area might still have dangerous driving conditions through the weekend.

"We have employees that need these hours at this time of year," she said.

Lake-effect snow occurs when very cold air passes over markedly warmer water. The cold air gathers moisture and then rises because of the heat, creating snow bands, which are carried by the wind.

The water temperature of the Great Lakes is at record warm levels, and the frigid air traveling over it arrived from Siberia, creating ideal conditions for heavy lake-effect snow.

The Arctic winds will cause temperatures to plummet throughout the eastern half of the country into this week, the National Weather Service said.

Lake-effect snowfall — buffeted from the Great Lakes to the Upper Peninsula and western Michigan, northeastern Ohio, northwestern Pennsylvania and portions of Upstate New York — is expected to continue into Monday, when the location of the heaviest snow bands are forecast to shift slightly southward.

On Saturday, two particularly intense snow bands were expected: one extending from near Ashtabula County, Ohio, across Erie, Pennsylvania, and into the southtowns of Buffalo; and another near Watertown, New York, and the Tug Hill Plateau.

A third strong snow band was expected to affect the region between Parry Sound and Gravenhurst in Ontario, east of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay.

Over the next days, up to four feet of additional snow could fall in the heaviest bands. Snow-related storm watches and warnings stretched from northeastern Ohio to Upstate New York on Saturday afternoon, and some peppered northern Michigan.

Kristen Clunk, 42, a Hampton Inn employee in Madison, said the storm was the worst she'd seen in years.

"It's always really interesting to see people who don't understand lake effect," she said. "It doesn't stop. If it does stop and you think you're safe, in two minutes it could be a complete whiteout again."

Though there was an upside, she added — "this is great snowball-making snow."

Lee reported from Washington and Vinall from Seoul. Ben Noll in Auckland, New Zealand, and Adela Suliman in London contributed to this report.



A.J. RAO/ERIE TIMES-NEWS/USA TODAY NETWORK/IMAGN IMAGES

A car buried under snow in Millcreek Township, Pennsylvania. Erie County declared a snow disaster.

## Dentist suspected in wife's death accused of murder plot

Prosecutors say he tried to persuade an inmate to kill a detective in his case

BY JISELLE LEE

An Aurora, Colorado, dentist who allegedly killed his wife with poisoned protein shakes has been charged with trying to plot the murder of a police detective investigating his case.

Prosecutors in Colorado's 18th Judicial District filed an amended complaint late last month requesting to charge James Craig with solicitation to commit mur-

der and solicitation to commit perjury. Craig, an inmate at the Arapahoe County Jail, allegedly tried to persuade another inmate to kill a police detective investigating his case. The inmate declined, according to court documents.

Craig had been accused of trying to tamper with investigations by forging fake evidence to prove his innocence. He allegedly gave an inmate a letter with instructions to make a fake video where his wife, Angela Craig, asks him for the poison herself. He also is accused of asking another inmate to forge journal entries to plant at the Craigs' home to suggest that she killed herself.

Aurora police confirmed that Craig is accused of plotting to kill a

police detective but declined The Washington Post's request for comment. "There's nothing available that we can share, but I can tell you the reporting is accurate," Aurora police spokesperson Matthew Longshore wrote in an email.

Craig has pleaded not guilty to killing his wife of 23 years. District Attorney John Kellner said at a July court hearing that before Angela Craig's death, James Craig searched online for ways to poison his wife in a way that would make it look like an accident.

James Craig used potassium cyanide, prosecutors allege, which he had said he needed for a dental surgery. According to court documents, he added the poison to protein shakes that he made for

her before their workouts together. Angela Craig, who died in March 2023, had a fatal amount of cyanide and tetrahydrozoline in her body, a coroner found.

An arrest affidavit from 2023 alleged that James Craig was "working on starting a new life" with someone else when his wife was sick.

Harvey Steinberg, James Craig's lawyer, withdrew from the case Nov. 21, citing a professional conflict that prevented him from representing Craig. As of Friday, Craig did not have legal representation listed and his trial has been delayed indefinitely, according to court documents.

Craig is scheduled to appear in court Dec. 16.



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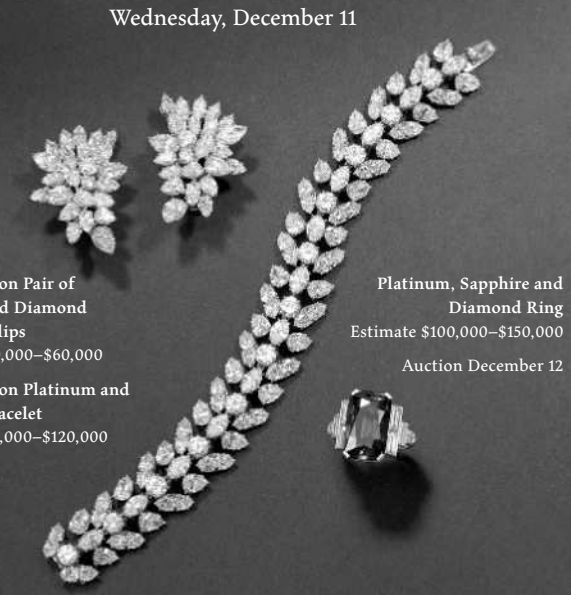
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# Hunter Biden’s team goes on offense as sentencing nears

President’s son argues that he was the victim of selective prosecution

BY MATT VISER

Hunter Biden’s legal team is launching an assertive public defense of the president’s son just weeks before federal judges in Delaware and California prepare to sentence him this month, and as his father faces a diminishing window to pardon him if he chooses to do so despite previously ruling it out.

In a 52-page paper titled “The political prosecutions of Hunter Biden” released Saturday, Hunter Biden’s lawyers criticize the foundation of the investigations into their client, arguing that he was prosecuted for crimes that an ordinary citizen would not have been. Hunter Biden is likely to face further unfair threats when President-elect Donald Trump takes office, the lawyers contend.

The document at times seems aimed directly at President Joe Biden, who has repeatedly said that he will not pardon or commute the sentences of his son. Hunter has been with his father over the past several days in Nantucket, where the Biden family for decades has gathered for Thanksgiving.

“With the election now decided, the threat against Hunter is real,” the report asserts. It cites comments that Trump has made about targeting his opponents, along with remarks from congressional Republicans who for years have investigated Hunter and other Biden family members.

“There is no disputing that Trump has said his enemies list includes Hunter,” the report says. “The prospect that Trump will turn his vengeance on the Special Counsel prosecutors if they fail to take a harder line against Hunter no doubt exerts considerable pressure on them not to let up on Hunter.”

Both cases against Hunter Biden, for gun and tax offenses, were brought by special counsel David Weiss, whose office was staffed by attorneys from the Justice Department. That depart-

ment will now be overseen by Trump and his attorney general.

Taken as a whole, the document largely rehashes past arguments made by Hunter Biden and his legal team, at times unsuccessfully in court. It includes a lengthy timeline of events since 2017 that the attorneys say demonstrates that federal prosecutors unfairly targeted the son of a prominent politician.

“Here, in one place, is the complete and reprehensible history of the political persecution of Hunter Biden,” Abbe Lowell, one of Hunter’s top attorneys, said in a statement. “This is a seven-year saga propelled by an unrelenting political desire to use a son to hurt his father.”

He added, “It is a wild and terrifying story that serves as a stark warning of what is to come as some of the same Republicans who targeted Hunter prepare to resume power and have stated their intention to use the government’s vast power to pursue their perceived enemies.”

The paper — which claims that Hunter Biden’s case “has been one of the most notorious and consequential political prosecutions in American history” — is being released just weeks before sentencing is scheduled in the two separate criminal cases, as some on Hunter Biden’s team worry that he will receive significant jail time.

Hunter Biden was convicted in June by a federal jury in Delaware for lying on a gun-purchase form in 2018 when he checked a box saying he was not using illegal drugs, as well as for illegally owning that weapon as a drug user for 11 days. Sentencing for those charges is scheduled for Dec. 12.

Separately, Hunter Biden pleaded guilty in September to nine federal tax charges, a last-minute plea that came just before jury selection was scheduled to begin in California. Sentencing for that charge is scheduled for Dec. 16.

Weiss has rejected accusations that he pursued Hunter Biden for wrongdoing that would be treated more leniently if the offender did not belong to a famous political family.

“No one in this country is above the law. Everyone must be accountable for their actions, even



JOE LAMBERTI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Attorneys for Hunter Biden, center, argued in a 52-page paper that the prosecution of the president’s son has been political and that he was prosecuted for crimes that an ordinary citizen would not have been. President Joe Biden has ruled out a pardon for his son.

this defendant,” Weiss said in a statement after Biden was found guilty in the gun case. “However, Hunter Biden should be no more accountable than any other citizen convicted of the same conduct. The prosecution has been and will continue to be committed to this principle, and to the principles of federal prosecution in carrying out its responsibilities.”

Weiss was designated a special counsel to preserve his independence from a Justice Department overseen by Hunter Biden’s father. In July, U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon suggested the entire process for naming special counsels was invalid as she dismissed an indictment against Trump related to his alleged mishandling classified documents.

Hunter Biden’s gun conviction carries a potential prison sentence, although some legal analysts say it is unlikely he will get one, given that he is a first-time offender who owned the gun for only 11 days and never used it. But the tax charges are more serious and — since the guilty verdict in the gun case made Hunter Biden a felon — the sentence could be harsher.

When he pleaded guilty to the tax offenses in September, U.S.

District Judge Mark Scarsi asked Hunter Biden in court if he understood that the plea meant he could face up to 17 years in prison and fines of up to \$1.3 million. Biden said he did.

The question of whether to pardon his son pits President Biden’s loyalty to his family against his pledge to reaffirm the public’s confidence in the independence of the justice system, which many Democrats blame Trump for weakening. The president has said publicly several times that he would not pardon or commute Hunter’s sentence, a position that White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre has reiterated.

“Our answer still stands,” she repeated on Nov. 7, just after the election. “Which is no.”

Many in the Bidens’ circle say prosecutors would never have gone after Hunter so aggressively if his father were not the president. The two sides were near a plea agreement at one point, but it fell apart in August 2023 amid scrutiny by a judge and complaints from Republicans.

Saturday’s document includes a timeline that shows how Trump allies such as Rudy Giuliani tried to find information about Hunter in the lead-up to the 2020 election. It also cites the plea agree-

ment that collapsed, saying it fell apart because Weiss — who was appointed a U.S. attorney by Trump and kept on by Biden — bowed to political pressure.

Central to the attorneys’ case are sweeping criticisms of the Department of Justice at a time when it was being run by Attorney General Merrick Garland, who has served under President Biden.

“A system that is supposed to protect against abuses failed to do so and was corrupted by political leaders in this country,” the paper charges. “As a result, Hunter faces significant sentences for felonies and misdemeanors far beyond precedents of others committing less serious offenses or where civil resolutions or consent judgments are normally sought — all on the basis of his mistakes, made while in the throes of serious drug addiction.”

The legal team compiled the number of cases in which someone in Delaware was prosecuted for similar misstatements on a gun-purchase form. On one of the charges, 19 such cases have been prosecuted — but in every other instance the defendant was also charged with drug trafficking, possessed multiple firearms or had prior felony convictions.

Hunter’s was the only case, the attorneys wrote, that did not include those aggravating factors.

They similarly argue that the tax evasion charges were “unprecedented for their scope and factual basis,” saying similar offenses are usually resolved with civil penalties rather than a criminal prosecution.

“Hunter fully paid his past-due taxes with interest and penalties in 2021 — over two years before any charges were brought,” his lawyers wrote. They cited several cases in which defendants had far higher tax bills, or did not repay them, yet were not criminally charged.

The lawyers also argue that Weiss was improperly designated as special counsel, and that their initial plea agreement with Weiss is still in force.

“The impact that the extraordinary and improper events described have had on Hunter and his family is obvious,” the report states. “However, the effect that partisan politics can have on what is supposed to be an independent prosecutorial decision-making process extends beyond Hunter’s case. Politics’ outside role reveals a new page in the playbook of politicizing investigations and prosecutions.”

# Trump threatens tariffs on BRICS countries in latest trade-related demand

BY MAEGAN VAZQUEZ, GERRIT DE VYNCK AND DAVID J. LYNCH

President-elect Donald Trump on Saturday demanded that the BRICS nations, a group of nine countries with emerging economies, commit to not creating a new currency or back any other currency to replace the U.S. dollar, threatening to impose punitive duties on their imports if they do not comply.

“We require a commitment from these Countries that they will neither create a new BRICS Currency, nor back any other Currency to replace the mighty U.S. Dollar or, they will face 100% Tariffs, and should expect to say goodbye to selling into the wonderful U.S. Economy,” Trump wrote in a post on his social media platform, Truth Social, on Saturday. “They can go find another ‘sucker!’ There is no chance that the BRICS will replace the U.S. Dollar in International Trade, and any Country that tries should wave goodbye to America.”

The forum includes Brazil, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Russia, South Africa and the United Arab Emirates. The group has a stated purpose of building up an international finance system that is less dependent on the United States and the European Union.

The threat against the BRICS nations came as part of a flurry of trade-related demands issued by Trump from his Truth Social account over the past several days.

On Friday, Trump had dinner with Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the president-elect’s Mar-a-Lago Club in Palm Beach, Florida, just days after Trump took to social media warning that he was ready to impose sweeping tariffs on Canadian, Mexican and Chinese goods on his first day in office.

The president-elect has said the threatened tariffs, which include a 25 percent tariff on Mexican and Canadian goods as well as an additional 10 percent on Chinese merchandise, would be aimed at halting an “invasion” of drugs and migrants into the United States.

The term BRICS was coined by

a Goldman Sachs economist nearly 25 years ago to describe the large, fast-growing economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China.

Russia in particular has driven discussions about building an alternative global money-transfer system after a group of its banks was cut out of the main global payment system known as SWIFT following Russian President Vladimir Putin’s invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Right now, the U.S. dollar dominates global trade, spurring a constant demand for dollars all over the world that gives the United States influence with other countries.

Trump has previously said he would seek to punish countries that attempt to use currencies other than the dollar for trade. At a campaign rally in September, he said he would levy tariffs of 100 percent on countries that tried to move away from the dollar.

The idea of a BRICS currency has been discussed before, but is far from actually being close to being implemented.

Trump has repeatedly tried to use trade policy to address unrelated issues, sometimes using threats made via social media as a bargaining tactic.

In May 2019, he announced escalating tariffs against Mexico designed to pressure the Mexican government into stopping Central American migrants from crossing his territory. Trump said he would impose a 5 percent tariff on Mexican goods, which would increase in 5 percent increments each month until the border problem was resolved.

The announcement sparked criticism from business representatives and some Senate Republicans at the time, who called it a misuse of the president’s tariff authority. Little over a week later, Trump lifted the tariff threat, saying that Mexico had agreed to take “strong measures” to curb the influx. That same year, he took to Twitter to accuse China of slow-rolling trade negotiations.

Trump said Saturday afternoon that he had a “very productive meeting” with Trudeau, where they discussed energy, the Arctic, the drug crisis, immigration and



CHANDAN KHANNA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau leaves his hotel in West Palm Beach, Florida, on Saturday, the day after he dined with President-elect Donald Trump, who has threatened tariffs on Canada.

“Fair Trade Deals that do not jeopardize American Workers, and the massive Trade Deficit the U.S. has with Canada.”

“I made it very clear that the United States will no longer sit idly by as our Citizens become victims to the scourge of this Drug Epidemic, caused mainly by the Drug Cartels, and Fentanyl pouring in from China,” Trump wrote in a post on his social media platform, Truth Social, adding that Trudeau “has made a commitment to work with us to end this terrible devastation of U.S. Families.”

Trump’s social media posts did not make any promises of what actions he would take after the conversations.

Trudeau told reporters on Saturday morning that he had “an excellent conversation” with Trump during his dinner at Mar-a-Lago, but he walked away from the press when asked if tariffs were brought up. Trudeau posted a message on X on Saturday thanking Trump for the dinner, adding, “I look forward to the work we can do together, again.”

A Canadian government official said the dinner lasted three hours, and that the group dis-

cussed fentanyl, border security, NATO, energy and a host of other topics. This person spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the contents of the private meeting.

Canada is the United States’ largest trading partner and the No. 1 purchaser of U.S. goods, making the relationship between the two countries crucial.

Trump and Trudeau were joined for dinner on Friday night by some of Trump’s Cabinet picks and their spouses. The group included North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum (R), his choice for interior secretary; transition co-chair Howard Lutnick, Trump’s pick for commerce secretary; and Rep. Michael Waltz (R-Florida), whom Trump tapped for national security adviser. Waltz has frequently criticized Trudeau, particularly on issues related to China.

Sen.-elect Dave McCormick, the Republican who won Pennsylvania’s Senate race, was also in attendance, according to a photo he shared on social media. Trudeau’s entourage, meanwhile, included Canadian Public Safety Minister Dominic LeBlanc and Katie Telford, Trudeau’s chief of staff.

The threatened tariffs would affect large swaths of U.S. trade and are expected to raise prices on a host of goods for consumers. Some of the largest U.S. imports of Canadian goods include oil and gas, machinery and parts. Canada had been anticipating trade policies that would damage the country’s interests, sending top government officials to meetings across the United States ahead of the November election, meant to stave off a turn to protectionism.

Hours before his trip to Florida, Trudeau told reporters that the tariffs would hurt consumers.

“One of the things that’s really important to understand is that Donald Trump, when he makes statements like that, he plans on carrying them out. There’s no question about it,” Trudeau said to reporters in Prince Edward Island in Atlantic Canada.

“Our responsibility is to point out that, in this way, he would be, actually, not just be harming Canadians, who work so well with the United States; he would actually be raising prices for American citizens as well and hurting American industry and businesses,” he added.

Trump criticized the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) during his first presidential campaign, replacing it with the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), which took effect in 2020. Trump publicly hailed the new accord on several occasions, boasting that it represented an enormous improvement over the original trade pact. Under the USMCA, goods moving among the three North American nations cross borders on a duty-free basis.

Trudeau at times had a strained relationship with Trump during his first term in the White House, particularly when it came to matters related to trade. Trump’s insults toward the Canadian leader sometimes got personal, but the two countries maintained strong ties.

Trump also spoke to Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum over the phone on Wednesday following the tariff threat, but the two have described dramatically different versions of what took place.

Trump claimed Sheinbaum had agreed to “stop Migration through Mexico,” and the Mexican president responded by saying that “Mexico’s stance is not to close borders but to build bridges.”

On Thursday, Sheinbaum said she and Trump agreed in a phone call that their countries will have a “good relationship,” and she dismissed his threat to impose a 25 percent tariff on Mexico’s exports if it didn’t stop the flow of migrants and fentanyl to the United States.

“There will not be a potential tariff war,” Sheinbaum told reporters in her daily news conference.

The tariff threats come at a time when migrant encounters at the U.S.-Mexico border have fallen. The U.S. Border Patrol recorded far fewer migrants illegally crossing the border from Mexico in fiscal 2024 than the previous two years. On the border with Canada, numbers are much lower but have gone up.

Hannah Knowles, Mary Beth Sheridan, Amanda Coletta and Niha Mash contributed to this report.



# Scientists make a mouse from genes predating animal life

Stem cell findings show surprising specialization in unicellular ancestor

BY KASHA PATEL

Around 700 million years ago, the animal kingdom began to branch off from single-celled organisms. Now, scientists have uncovered molecular tools that could have assisted the leap — and successfully tested them by creating a mouse from our unicellular ancestor.

For the first time, scientists created mouse stem cells from the genes of a single-celled life form. Stem cells are special because they can make more of themselves and also transform into other cells with different functions. The team used these newly generated stem cells to help form a living, breathing mouse from a developing embryo, according to published findings in Nature Communications.

The discovery was surprising because scientists thought the genes that allowed stem cells to divide and specialize occurred only in animals and certainly not in a single-celled protist group from almost a billion years ago.

“The molecular tool kit of stem cells is much older than we thought previously,” said Ralf Jauch, a study author and stem cell biologist at the University of Hong Kong. “These molecular tools are older than animal stem cells themselves.”

In addition to learning how we evolved to be multicellular, Jauch said, the understanding of this natural evolution can “make better stem cell models” that could help revert disease or even aging.

The recipe for stem cells in animals

The difference between animals and protists isn't just the number of cells. Protists, typically unicellular microscopic organ-

isms that aren't animals, fungi or plants, perform all functions within a cell. But animals are the ultimate delegators: some cells are assigned to one task, while others are in charge of other actions.

“We know that animals, most of them have stem cells because it's something that you need,” said Alex de Mendoza, a study author at Queen Mary University of London. “You need cells that can divide but at the same time give rise to other cells.”

It was the 2012 Nobel Prize in medicine that helped shed light on what it takes to generate a stem cell in an animal. Stem cell researcher Shinya Yamanaka, who actually made the discovery six years earlier, found that adult cells could be reprogrammed into stem cells by introducing four specific genes: Sox2, Pou5F1, Klf4 and Myc (known as the Yamanaka factors).

Most people assumed those genes were unique to the animal kingdom because a stem cell capability seemed unnecessary in a unicellular organism. About a decade ago, de Mendoza even searched for these genes in protists and similar unicellular organisms during his PhD research. He only had three sequenced genomes to search at the time, but initial analyses didn't show any of those special stem cell genes.

Then, recent data uncovered a startling revelation. In 2022, de Mendoza and his colleagues searched the genomes again with more available data. In searching about 30 sequences, they found a few that had a version of these Yamanaka factors found in animals — belonging in the “Sox” and “Pou” gene families.

“We found them and we thought, that's very weird,” de Mendoza said. “We didn't expect them to be there.”

A mouse made from genes older than animal life

The genes, the team discovered, were found in a protist about the size of a dust particle



GAO YA AND ALVIN KIN SHING LEE/CENTRE FOR COMPARATIVE MEDICINE RESEARCH

The mouse on the left is a chimeric with dark eyes and patches of black fur, a result of stem cells derived from a choanoflagellate Sox gene. The mouse on the right has red eyes and all white fur. The color difference is due to genetic markers used to distinguish the stem cells.

called a choanoflagellate — or “collar” flagellate. These protists are the closest living relatives to the animal kingdom, though they may not seem like it at a quick glance. They propel through the water with a whip (or its flagella) like a microscopic tadpole and scoop bacteria into their feeding collar.

Choanoflagellates could offer insight into the evolution and basic cell biology of the first multicellular organism, even as scientists aren't completely certain what that first multicellular animal looked like.

Choanoflagellates appear similar to a cell type of sponges, which led some scientists to think sponges could have been the first multicellular animal. More recent data, though, suggested it could have been a comb jelly.

In the study, de Mendoza and his colleagues searched sequences of 22 choanoflagellates species and “only found 2 with convincing hits.” The team wanted to test if these newly found Sox and Pou genes from choanoflagellates would perform similar functions as those in animals.

It wasn't a foregone conclusion that the protist genes would work in the same way. There are around 20 Sox genes in mam-

mals, with a special variation called Sox2 that is important for programming mammalian stem cells. But the choanoflagellate Sox predates all 20 mammalian copies, so it's unclear the molecular machinery would operate similarly.

Through a series of experiments, Jauch and postdoctoral fellow Ya Gao introduced the genes from the choanoflagellate into mouse cells. Specifically, they replaced a Sox2 gene from a mouse with the similar gene found in the choanoflagellates — successfully reprogramming the cells to stem cell state. To check that it worked, they injected the reprogrammed cells into a developing mouse embryo. The mouse grew to have physical characteristics from its original embryo but also the lab-induced stem cells, which had genetic markers like dark eyes and black fur patches.

“We can swap pieces with critters that we just don't seem to have anything to do with them. Then suddenly, they can be used to make things that we consider to be very complicated and very essential,” de Mendoza said.

Not all of the Frankenstein-style experimenting worked in the study. The team also introduced the Pou gene found in the

choanoflagellate to the mouse cells, but it did not induce stem cells. The issue, de Mendoza explained, was the unicellular Pou gene bound to the DNA in a different way than other animal Pou genes.

The experiments, Jauch said, suggested that Pou needed more evolutionary tinkering before it reached its current function in modern animals.

To take the investigation even further, the team examined what our common ancient ancestor — perhaps of animals and choanoflagellates — looked like. Colleagues at the Max Planck Institute for Terrestrial Microbiology used advanced computer algorithms to trace back through the molecular tree of life, like a molecular time machine to long-extinct ancestors. They found these molecular traits for Sox proteins were present in these ancient sequences, although the team didn't make a mouse with them. This finding showed the capability is truly ancestral and predated the evolution of animals themselves.

“The findings of this very elegant body of work are very exciting, but not surprising,” said Sandie Degnan, professor of biology at the University of Queen-

sland who was not involved in the study. “I think of unicellular organisms as needing to be a ‘Jack of all trades’ because that one cell has to meet all the needs of staying alive.”

The study agrees and further extends Degnan and her colleagues' own proposition that the first animal cells were able to transition between multiple states, similar to modern stem cells. She said it logically makes sense that the first animal cells — our last common animal ancestor — had built-in flexibility that could help them cope with challenges from their external environment. This advantage would likely be more favored through natural selection than cells that stayed in a fixed state.

The team members are still scratching their heads to figure out why a choanoflagellate or our ancient ancestor would have this gene capability. De Mendoza suggested maybe they used it to regulate basic functions, such as cell proliferation, but multicellular animals repurposed it to make complex bodies.

“Evolution doesn't always need to invent,” de Mendoza said. “Usually, you use whatever you have, and then you build something new from mostly recycled parts.”

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# Noem’s moves build her profile

NOEM FROM A1

announcing his choice.

A Noem spokesman did not make her available for an interview and did not respond to questions. A Trump spokeswoman called Noem “brilliant” and praised her for having “deployed her state’s resources to stop the Southern Border Invasion.”

Throughout the country, Noem’s focus on the border has endeared her to the Republican grass roots. The Shelby County GOP, in Tennessee, honored Noem at its annual Lincoln Day dinner over the summer, said the local party’s chairman, Cary Vaughn, because, “She’s a great zealot and advocate for fighting for border control.”

A Tennessee billionaire and Republican donor, Willis Johnson, was so supportive of Noem’s efforts that he funded the initial 2021 deployment to the tune of \$1 million. The private financing raised eyebrows in Washington, where congressional staffers questioned its viability, emails show, and drew a rebuke from Democrats in South Dakota.

The deployments all together cost about \$3.3 million, prompted questions about the legality of the private funding and helped fuel a bitter dispute between Noem and South Dakota’s Native American tribes after she alleged that cartel activity on reservations justified the National Guard’s deployment. Documents and interviews show the governor’s team prioritized the public image she was crafting while sometimes paying less attention to the minutiae of her policy — announcing the initial deployment before fully verifying its legal validity.

Noem, a rancher and farmer who spent eight years in Washington as a member of Congress before being elected governor in 2018, has often used her perch in Pierre, a small capital city along the Missouri River, to insert herself into the national conversation.

Amid a drug crisis in 2019, she spent nearly \$500,000 in state funds on an awareness campaign whose slogan — “Meth. We’re on it.” — was meant to convey a proactive response to drug abuse but prompted widespread ridicule because of its indelicate wording. In 2020, she bucked public health consensus and boasted of her state’s hands-off response to the covid pandemic as South Dakota recorded the second-highest number of population-adjusted infections in the country.

And this year, amid speculation that she could be Trump’s running mate, she released a memoir in which she described shooting to death her family’s dog because the 14-month-old wire-haired pointer was “untrainable,” resulting in bipartisan backlash.

But it’s the claim she staked to border security that is especially relevant to the portfolio she’ll assume if confirmed as homeland security secretary. And it points to the kind of boundary-pushing tactics Noem may be willing to spearhead in carrying out Trump’s promise of mass deportations.

“She’s always getting in front of TV cameras, flying to different parts of the country, trying to be in the spotlight,” said Aaron Aylward, a Republican state representative and chairman of the South Dakota legislature’s Freedom Caucus, modeled on the hard-right faction in Washington. “That’s not a criticism, but it was pretty obvious another position was coming her way. I wish her the best in that position.”

## A donation stands out

The South Dakota National Guard traces its history to 1862, when it served as a militia for the Dakota Territory. Since then, its members have seen combat in both World Wars and in U.S. campaigns in both Iraq and Afghanistan. The 4,200-member unit has also participated in federal operations at the U.S.-Mexico border — a routine practice under presidents of both parties.

As illegal border crossings reached record highs in 2021, Noem argued that the effects — in the form of drugs, crime and overstretched public resources — burdened the whole country and required use of state military forces. Other Republican governors soon followed her lead in dispatching troops of their own accord, not as part of a federal request, as is typical.

South Dakota’s troops con-



STEPHEN GROVES/AP

**ABOVE:** Gov. Kristi L. Noem (R-South Dakota) visits troops stationed at the Texas border with Mexico near McAllen in July 2021. She deployed roughly 50 National Guard troops in response to an appeal from Texas. **BELOW:** A migrant child is helped from an inflatable raft after crossing the Rio Grande in March 2021 in Roma, Texas.



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

ducted observation along the Rio Grande between Del Rio and McAllen, Texas, according to internal emails. They were armed with assault rifles, according to a recommendation included in the emails, but advised that immigrant detention was beyond their remit, instead falling to U.S. Border Patrol.

To National Guard leaders deployed to the border, the mission was worth it: It aided efforts to secure the border in a moment of genuine crisis and lightened the load, even modestly, on overwhelmed Texas and U.S. authorities.

“Overall, this mission is something Soldiers are proud to be a part of, especially those with law enforcement affiliation,” wrote a Guard leader in a July 2021 email released under the Freedom of Information Act, explaining that

*“Are you able to provide information on that authority and the reimbursement process, and whether that will cover all related costs and benefits?”*

**Sen. John Thune (R-South Dakota)**, raising concerns over Gov. Kristi Noem’s accepting a private donation to deploy state troops

the South Dakota unit acted as “an extra sensor,” allowing Border Patrol to focus on more serious cartel activity.

The initial mission cost about \$1.5 million, which covered salaries, flights, lodging and 11 Humvees, among other equipment. That exceeded the \$1 million in funds provided by Johnson, the Tennessee billionaire, and left South Dakota taxpayers with a bill of about \$500,000 for that first deployment, the first of three ordered by Noem.

The donation came from a family foundation in Franklin, Tennessee, funded by Johnson, the founder and former chief executive of a vehicle auction company. A foundation tax filing identifies the purpose of the \$1 million donation: “to assist in the best interest of the state of South Dakota.” Johnson has donated wide-



SERGIO FLORES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Members of the Texas National Guard near the international bridge in Del Rio, Texas, in 2021. In South Dakota, law enforcement officials gave differing accounts of whether border activity affects their jurisdictions. “Every state is now a border state,” Gov. Kristi L. Noem said.**

ly to Republican candidates, including more than \$1 million in recent years to pro-Trump political committees, according to federal records. In 2022, he contributed \$25,000 to a group supporting Noem. He did not respond to a request for comment.

Noem told reporters at the time of the initial deployment that she hardly knew Johnson, saying, “It really was a surprise when he gave me that phone call and said that he wanted to help support the state of South Dakota.”

Emails show Noem didn’t wait for her staff to iron out the details, including the legality of the private donation, before publicizing her plans. On the day of the announcement, a policy adviser to South Dakota’s senior Republican senator, John Thune, raised concerns about the arrangement in an email to National Guard leaders. The private donation “stood out,” he wrote, asking, “Are you able to provide information on that authority and the reimbursement process, and whether that will cover all related costs and benefits?” A Thune spokesman declined to comment.

The next day, the deputy secretary of the state’s public safety department wrote in an internal email that state officials were working out some details about the donation, including that it would not cover Guard salaries directly but instead go into the state’s emergency and disaster fund, which would cover the deployment. “Can you do some more leg work on this?” he asked another state official.

That fund, according to South Dakota law, is designed for disasters and emergencies “in any part of the state.” But Noem’s advisers, including the head of the National Guard, known as the adjutant general, described the situation at the southern border as a disaster bearing down directly on South

Dakota. In an email to Noem aides, the adjutant general, Jeffrey Marlette, proposed that Noem describe her authority this way: “As Governor, I hold my role as Commander in Chief of our Soldiers and Airmen as a sacred bond, to only ask them to deploy when it is absolutely essential to preserving our way of life.”

“This is a different approach,” Marlette added, “but I think it delivers the Governor’s important messages and defeats the media’s misguided assumptions that this is political, illegal or not within her powers.”

Marlette, who retired last year, said in an interview that he wanted Noem to be clear about her aims, because he understood that the private donation risked creating the “appearance that the National Guard was for hire,” which, he emphasized, was “not the case.”

Democrats in the state legislature blasted the arrangement, arguing in a letter to the governor’s office that “privatized deployments set dangerous precedent for further political use of our National Guard.”

**The governor digs in**

Confusion about funding for the border mission didn’t end when soldiers shipped off to Texas.

Weeks into the 2021 deployment, National Guard leaders were still trying to ascertain whether Texas would reimburse South Dakota for the mission’s remaining costs, according to internal emails. No reimbursement ever came through, the governor later confirmed.

The volume of activity documented by South Dakota’s soldiers varied widely, according to internal Guard documents. Some days, they observed hundreds of migrants attempting to cross the border. At other points, they went as many as five days without any encounters. “Very slow day,” stated one situation report prepared by the National Guard.

An especially traumatic moment arrived in August 2021, when a sergeant identified a child who had crossed the river and wasn’t breathing. The sergeant attempted “life prolonging care,” according to a situation report, but ultimately “word was received the child was pronounced dead at the hospital.”

As the deployment concluded in September, the private funding remained controversial. The National Guard recommended “not having welcome home ceremony with media etc due to the nature of the publicity received from private donor,” according to internal emails.

Any discomfort among Noem advisers about publicizing the Guard’s activities disappeared two years later, when Noem ordered another mission to the border in September 2023 and took to Facebook to post photos of herself with gun-toting Guard members. “If Joe Biden and Kamala Harris would enforce the law and secure our border, Governors wouldn’t have to do their job for them,” she wrote.

In January of this year, Noem convened a joint session of the state’s legislature to discuss her ongoing efforts to deploy troops and other state resources to the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



# N.J. real estate developer Charles Kushner chosen as ambassador to France

BY AZI PAYBARAH

President-elect Donald Trump said on Saturday he would nominate Charles Kushner, the New Jersey real estate developer and his son-in-law's father whom he pardoned in 2020, to be the ambassador to France.

Kushner pleaded guilty in 2004 to making false statements to the Federal Election Commission, and he subsequently pleaded guilty to witness tampering and tax evasion stemming from \$6 million in political contributions and gifts mischaracterized as business expenses. The ambassador post requires Senate confirmation, but senators usually defer to presidents on such nominees.

"He is a tremendous business leader, philanthropist, & deal-maker, who will be a strong advocate representing our Country & its interests," Trump wrote in a post on TruthSocial. Trump added, "Together, we will strengthen America's partnership with France, our oldest Ally, & one of our greatest!"

The current ambassador, Denise Campbell Bauer, has been in the role since December 2021 and from August 2013 until January 2017 was the ambassador to Belgium.

For years, the two families built sprawling real estate empires on either side of the Hudson

River: the Kushners mainly in New Jersey, and the Trumps famously in New York.

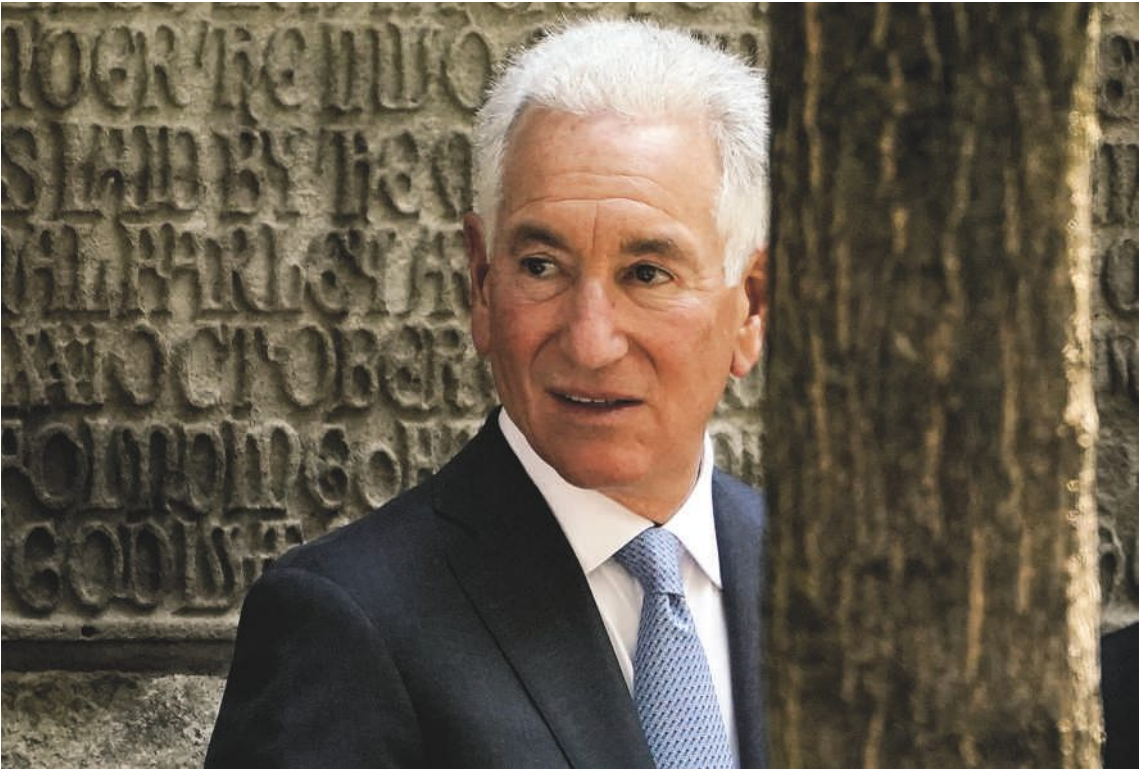
While Trump ran toward headlines, Kushner, by comparison, avoided them, until 2004. That year he pleaded guilty to federal charges including 16 counts of "assisting in the filing of false tax returns, one count of retaliating against a cooperating witness and one count of making false statements to the Federal Election Commission," a federal prosecutor in New Jersey announced.

The details of the case were eye-popping, even for a state known for political scandals.

"Kushner further admitted he devised a scheme to retaliate against a cooperating witness and her husband by having a prostitute seduce the husband and covertly filming them having sex," the federal prosecutor wrote in a statement at the time, announcing Kushner's guilty plea.

Kushner said in court that he had paid a private investigator \$25,000 to arrange to seduce and videotape the cooperating witness's husband. Kushner admitted to "personally recruiting the prostitute and instructing that the videotape be mailed to the cooperating witness."

Before Kushner was sentenced in 2005, the prosecutor in the case told the court: "What is truly extraordinary is that Charles Kushner has failed to accept full



JOHN MINCHILLO/AP

Charles Kushner, seen in 2022, pleaded guilty in 2004 to federal charges that included retaliating against a cooperating witness. His son, Jared, married Donald Trump's daughter, Ivanka, in 2009.

responsibility for his outrageous criminal conduct," the New York Times reported. The defense memo sharply disagreed and described "grief, regret, loss, devastating heartbreak" and the "acceptance of full responsibility for his crimes." In March 2005, Kush-

ner was sentenced to two years in prison.

About a year later, Kushner's son, Jared, purchased the New York Observer, a small Manhattan-based newspaper with a penchant for covering politics, culture, real estate and the salacious

misdeeds of those in power. In 2009, Jared married Trump's daughter, Ivanka, at the Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey, uniting two rich and powerful families. That same year, the prosecutor who pursued the case against Charles Kushner,

Chris Christie, was elected governor of New Jersey.

By 2016, the younger Kushner and the man who successfully prosecuted his father were working together on a seemingly quixotic mission of getting Donald Trump elected president. After his unlikely victory, the tension between Kushner and Christie boiled over, with Christie being kicked out of the Trump transition team he was leading, and the more than two dozen transition books he had prepared reportedly were thrown in a dumpster.

The younger Kushner went on to take an expansive portfolio in his father-in-law's administration, and the older Kushner reportedly told one close family friend that he hoped to receive a presidential pardon, the Times reported.

In December 2020, as one of Trump's last acts in office, that pardon was granted.

"Since completing his sentence in 2006, Mr. Kushner has been devoted to important philanthropic organizations and causes, such as Saint Barnabas Medical Center and United Cerebral Palsy," Trump's press secretary said in a statement at the time. "This record of reform and charity overshadows Mr. Kushner's conviction and 2 year sentence for preparing false tax returns, witness retaliation, and making false statements to the FEC."

# Tribal chief says Noem sent state Guard troops to the border to ‘get attention’

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

border. In a 15-minute speech, she described the border as a "war zone" and likened the movement of migrants into the United States to a military attack.

"Every state is now a border state," she argued.

In South Dakota, law enforcement officials offered differing accounts of whether activity at the border affects their distant communities.

In Minnehaha County, the state's most populous jurisdiction, which includes Sioux Falls, 85 to 95 percent of the fentanyl emanates from across the southern border, estimated the county

sheriff, Michael Milstead, who also chairs the National Sheriffs' Association's drug enforcement committee. The county's chief prosecutor, Republican Daniel Haggar, deferred to the sheriff on the source of the drugs and said he lacked other statistics to fill in the picture. "When people are committing crimes in Minnehaha County, I don't really care where they're from," Haggar said.

In Pennington County, which includes Rapid City and has the second-highest population in the state, the office of the chief prosecutor, who is also a Republican, said there isn't data connecting a rise in drug charges to the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border. A

spokeswoman for the prosecutor's office, Katy Urban, also said the county hasn't seen an increase in violence committed by undocumented immigrants.

In an effort to connect lapses in border security to problems in South Dakota, Noem asserted that Mexican drug cartels were using the state's Native American reservations — which exist outside the jurisdiction of state and local law enforcement — as bases of operation. The state is home to extensive tribal lands, including the Pine Ridge Reservation, south of Rapid City.

Noem said the cartels and affiliated gang members "have been successful in recruiting tribal

members to join their criminal activity" — a claim that tribal leaders contest. Her statements infuriated those leaders, whose relationships with Noem were already frayed. In the days after her address, she was banned from the Pine Ridge Reservation by Oglala Sioux Tribe President Frank Star Comes Out. Other tribes followed suit in the coming months.

In an interview, Star Comes Out said Noem was exploiting legitimate public safety concerns voiced by the tribe, which has sued the federal government to help buttress its underfunded law enforcement operation. He said drug use and crime are problems on the reservation just as they are

elsewhere in the state, but that there was no basis for Noem's allegations that tribal lands had become forward operating posts for Mexican cartels.

"It was just a way of trying to get attention," Star Comes Out said.

In a statement responding to her banishment, Noem said, "It is unfortunate that President Star Comes Out chose to bring politics into a discussion regarding the effects of our federal government's failure to enforce federal laws at the southern border and on tribal lands."

Meanwhile, the Republican-dominated state legislature moved to resolve any doubt about

how further border missions would be funded — by South Dakota taxpayers. Earlier this year, the legislature adopted an amendment to an appropriations bill to provide an additional \$2.35 million to cover the second deployment and a third that Noem would soon launch.

The original version of the bill, addressing funding for emergencies and disasters, specified that those were events "impacting this state." The final version approved in February, with the added funding for the border deployments, simply dropped that language.

Chris Dehghanpoor contributed to this report.



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# NFL players put their thoughts to rest by writing them down

JOURNALS FROM AI

privacy of a journal. Some use an actual pen and paper. Many prefer modern tools on their phones. They use journals to catalogue thoughts, express vulnerability, explore faith, unclutter minds, remember moments, imprint aspirations and cement values.

Washington Commanders wide receiver Terry McLaurin began journaling when he started on his “therapy journey” two years ago, he said. “I write down the date, and I just start — whatever comes into my mind.”

At first, he typed takeaways from therapy sessions into a journaling app on his phone. He expanded his journal to include reflections from meetings with Washington’s team chaplain. Now he uses it as an outlet for anything from frustration to reasons for gratitude.

“Everybody has insecurities or things they may be ashamed of or struggle with sharing or they’re working through,” McLaurin said. “Being football players, it reinforces toughness and strength and not showing any kind of weakness. Journaling is a really positive outlet to show strength and weakness. It’s a way to get your thoughts down. If a lot of guys are similar to me, you have hundreds of thoughts going through your mind every single day. A space where you can unapologetically be free is very beneficial.”

### ‘I got to write it down’

In his second NFL season, Detroit Lions defensive lineman John Cominsky felt himself spiraling. Then an Atlanta Falcon, he found his tenuous grip on a roster spot led to anxiety and frustration that began affecting his on-field performance. Cominsky listened to teammates who had used journaling to bolster their mental well-being.

“You hear guys all the time talking about journaling, different ways to deal with the stresses that come with the NFL, the stresses of life in general,” said Cominsky, whose sixth year in the league was disrupted by a knee injury. “I was like, ‘I got to get these thoughts straightened out.’ I got into that journal.”

Cominsky said journaling be-



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Washington’s Terry McLaurin (17) has been journaling for two years and called it “a really positive outlet to show strength and weakness.”

came a crucial tool in gaining a foothold in the NFL. It became not only an outlet but a source of joy he uses to remember inspirational messages from teammates and coaches. “Dan Campbell says something awesome in a team meeting, I’m going to write that down,” Cominsky said of Detroit’s coach.

Kingsley Jonathan, a defensive lineman on the Bills’ practice squad who keeps a journal, has a theory for why NFL players gravitate toward the practice. Football players are trained from college to keep a notebook for position and team meetings. Many players keep a trove of old game plans for future study. “That kind of leaks into the rest of your life outside of football — ‘Oh, yeah, I got to write it down,’” Jonathan said.

Commanders backup quarterback Marcus Mariota, a 10-year veteran, started journaling early

in his career. He recalled an era when “the mental headspace was kind of taboo,” Mariota said. “It was seen as weak. For guys now to be able to be vulnerable, to do these types of things, it creates a healthier environment in the workplace for us.”

For NFL players, Mariota said, writing provides advantages over talking. Sharing with a teammate may be uncomfortable. Speaking with a friend, a relative or even a therapist outside of the sport would mean talking to someone unacquainted with the esoteric lifestyle of a football player.

“A lot of us, we feel so defined by what we do and football has been part of our identity for so long that it is kind of hard to talk to somebody or relate to somebody that really hasn’t been a part of that space,” Mariota said. “So being able to write those things down, to write out how you feel,

to be vulnerable, I do think is important. It allows guys to get in that space where they can separate work and life.”

Bills cornerback Rasul Douglas has always loved to read and write, so journaling comes naturally to him. He started before he reached the NFL.

“Sometimes some people don’t have nobody to go to where they can just tell how their day went,” Douglas said. “It allows me to have a safe space for myself, being able to let my thoughts go and not let them build and me just being in a box. It’s me just expressing myself. Instead of telling somebody, I just write it down.”

No two journals are quite the same. Baltimore Ravens linebacker Kyle Van Noy keeps a compendium on the Notes app in his phone, typing down anything from big questions he is pondering to funny things his kids uttered. It dates from 2015, his second NFL season. Van Noy reads it on airplanes, thumbing back through the years.

“When you’re on flights, you’re closer to heaven,” Van Noy said. “You’re on a different dimension as far as reflecting on life.”

Van Noy’s notes are wide-ranging. One recent entry was a “corny dad joke” his kids taught him: “Knock, knock. *Who’s there?* Hawaii. *Hawaii who?* I’m good; how are you?”

Another recent entry is wisdom picked up from a teammate: “Everyone will show you who they are. Just give it time.”

“You can scroll forever on it,” Van Noy said. “I just go back, and whatever hits, hits. I can go back to a month ago and look. I can go back three years ago and look. Or I can go back 10 years.”

Bills tight end Dawson Knox practices daily devotions, and he

journals based on the scripture he reads. He uses it as a daily reminder, almost a to-do list.

“During the season, it’s so easy to get pulled in 1,000 different directions,” Knox said. “But I got to remember what’s important. That helps me stay grounded. It helps me be the best person, the best teammate, the best husband I can be. It kind of just keeps my values in check.”

Mariota’s journal has evolved. At first, he wrote down goals. It then became more faith-based, his reflections on scripture he was reading. In 2021, while Mariota played for the Las Vegas Raiders, defensive coordinator Gus Bradley offered a suggestion: Determine your core values, and write them down every day. Mariota now begins every morning by reading scripture, writing about it and then typing his core values into a journal app on his phone.

“We get lost sometimes on a day-to-day basis with our schedules,” Mariota said. “Especially for me to start my day that way, it brings me, ‘This is who you are, who you want to be, what you’re striving for.’”

Ravens linebacker Tavius Robinson does not write in a journal daily, but he looks at one every time he leaves his house. He keeps a notebook on a table by his door, opened to a page where he wrote down his goals for training camp and the season. He has kept the habit since his final year at Mississippi, when he scribbled a single mission: Get drafted.

“It’s just about visualizing that every day,” Robinson said. “It sets my intent for the day.”

Commanders special teams ace Jeremy Reaves has a similar routine. Before the season, he jotted goals and mindsets on a piece of paper: Pro Bowl, all-pro,

remove all doubt, earn your way to the field, be a good teammate. He taped the paper to his bathroom mirror so he reads it every morning while brushing his teeth.

“When you see it, it’s like an unconscious thing,” Reaves said. “Your body knows what it’s working towards.”

For Shakir, journaling attacked the specific problem of sleep. He found that once he emptied his thoughts into his phone, his mind quieted and he stopped tossing and turning. Journaling gave him better sleep, and better sleep made him a better player.

“Before you go to bed and you have 1,000 thoughts in your head, your mind’s racing, it’s harder to fall asleep,” Shakir said. “The way I found it, if I put it on paper — everything that I’m thinking, how my day went, what went right, what went wrong, put it all out there — by the time I lay my head on that pillow, it’s all out. I’m not thinking much of anything at all.”

### From struggles to progress

Standing outside the Commanders’ locker room, McLaurin pulled his phone from his pocket and scrolled to find recent entries that had boosted him.

“Oh,” McLaurin said. “Positive affirmations.”

McLaurin explained that, during therapy sessions, he learned he could be extremely hard on himself. He looked at his phone and read aloud the lessons from his journal that he relied on.

*What happened in the past does not indicate what’s going to happen in the future.*

*It’s okay to have grace for myself.*

*Worrying through life no longer serves me.*

*I deserve support even when things are hard.*

*I will make mistakes. But there’s always an opportunity to bounce back.*

In moments of stress or anger, McLaurin sometimes scrolls through entries where he wrote what makes him thankful. When he journals, McLaurin prioritizes honesty. He finds that simply expressing his negative thoughts can exorcise them.

“I try not to sugarcoat it,” McLaurin said. “If I’m mad, I write down I’m mad. Sometimes, writing it down and you think about it, I’ve had times where those feelings may pass. Just getting it down on paper and expressing it in a written form allows me to really release that stress or anxiety.”

At this point, McLaurin finds happiness in some of his most tormented entries. When he looks back over them, he realizes how far he has come. What were once struggles now sit on his screen as progress. “I think that’s the number one thing I take away from journaling,” McLaurin said. “It’s almost like a snapshot in time of how you may be feeling.”

McLaurin believes most NFL players are like him, swimming in hundreds of thoughts about the game, their responsibilities, their families. His suggestion to them is to join the many who, like him, find peace in writing them down.

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# Wildfires used to just be a problem in the American West. Not anymore.

BY SCOTT DANCE

After training to become a wildland firefighter for a fire crew in the Northeast, Richard Schenk saw his first big blaze in 1988 on the other side of the country, in Yellowstone National Park. In the decades since, fires have regularly taken him across the West, and through forests of Canada, too.

But with more than 200 fires this fall throughout his home state of Connecticut, his teams are now on the receiving end of a system that sends firefighters, helicopters and other equipment where they're needed across the United States and Canada. During what has been a historically active fire season in the East, Connecticut has pulled crews from as close as Rhode Island, Maine and Quebec and as far as Idaho, Oregon and California.

"This is new for us," said Schenk, a Connecticut fire control officer.

Though the western United States faces the greatest risks of expanding and intensifying fires, the unusual and long-lasting spate of eastern blazes underscores the ways that growing wildfire risks across the country may stretch resources and surprise even the most seasoned firefighters. The West has for years been adapting to more extreme fires and investing in firefighting resources, but in a place like Connecticut, there hasn't been a reason to consider such steps — until now.

As average temperatures rise and warmer air sucks more moisture out of landscapes, firefighters across the country say they are more frequently battling blazes at unexpected times of year, and in more places.

"This adds to the costs of managing extreme weather events," said Katie Dykes, commissioner of the state's Department of Energy and Environmental Protection.

And it's not just fires. A matter of weeks before some fires began burning, historic flooding hit some of the same parts of Connecticut in mid-August, she said. That burst of rain — which, based on historical data, can be expected about once a millennium — could not prevent more than 95 percent of the state entering what



NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION/AP

**Firefighters respond to a forest fire last month in Evesham, New Jersey. Across the Northeast, drought has developed rapidly over the past month, after record-breaking stretches without any precipitation across the region.**

is now classified as severe drought, according to the U.S. Drought Monitor.

"We've seen all kinds of unprecedented impacts in our state and will continue to," Dykes said.

Across the Northeast, drought has developed rapidly over the past month, after record-breaking stretches without any precipitation across the region. It prompted New York City this past week to issue a drought warning that could be a precursor to water use restrictions. The city also established its first brush fire task force, whose members will use drones to detect fire risks and investigate blazes.

About 61 percent of the Northeast was in at least "moderate" drought as of Tuesday, according to the U.S. Drought Monitor's most recent analysis. Drought has persisted despite a recent

stretch of rainy and snowy weather for the East, with several more inches of widespread rainfall needed to alleviate the drought.

The conditions have fueled hundreds of fires, including some that are the region's largest in decades. The Jennings Creek Fire along the border of New York and New Jersey has spread across more than 5,300 acres since igniting Nov. 8 and was still not fully contained as of Wednesday. In southwestern Massachusetts, the footprint of the Butternut Fire had surpassed 1,300 acres, according to the National Interagency Fire Center, and as of Wednesday, it was still not fully contained.

And though wildfires in the West can grow significantly larger, experts stressed that even small fires can be dangerous in such a densely populated part of

the country. In the East, there tend to be more people around who can detect fires faster, in part because of a landscape fragmented with development. But that also means there is more human activity around pockets of wilderness that can spark fires, and more structures can stand in their way.

And just as fires have been taking residents of the West by surprise with their speed and intensity, there are signs that fire trends may be changing in the East, said Thomas Brady, executive director of the Northeastern Forest Fire Protection Compact. The group was founded in 1947, when similarly dry conditions allowed fire to spread across more than 200,000 acres of Maine, and it helps states and Canadian provinces to coordinate and share firefighting resources.

Intense fires have become more frequent in the East, he said, and this is a second consecutive year the Northeastern compact is dealing with unusually high fire activity on its own turf. In what was a historic 2023 wildfire season across Canada, large fires hit Nova Scotia and Quebec, drawing in firefighters from across the United States, including from Connecticut.

This year, it's the northeastern United States that is importing firefighting resources, and not just from within the compact, Brady said. Connecticut's Hawthorne Fire, which grew to about 130 acres before being contained, even required the help of a Hot-shot crew — one that is highly trained and specialized for on-the-ground firefighting — from California.

"That's definitely a newer

thing for us," Brady said. It has been a "jolt" to states not used to being ground zero for fires, he said.

And some of the states are not used to managing the costs of fighting those fires.

In Connecticut, where nearly 60 fires remained active or under monitoring the past week, firefighting costs are expected to end up in the millions of dollars, though a precise accounting hasn't happened yet, Dykes said. Whether this season means the state invests in more of its own firefighting resources, or otherwise changes how it prepares, is an open question that officials will consider once the dangers have passed, she said.

While the state was able to get the help it needed, such as a helicopter from Maine to carry water, in some cases the crews it brought in were among only a handful in the country available, said Christopher Martin, director of the forestry division in the state's environmental protection department.

As the dangers have persisted, there has already been a push to better educate residents on fire safety. The state's density means fire spread has been "going both ways," in some cases spreading from forests to destroy barns, sheds and homes, and in others, originating as house fires, said Thomas Trask, Connecticut's forest protection supervisor.

Preventive measures haven't yet gone as far in the East as they have in communities in the West — where there is a heavy emphasis on clearing a vegetation-free buffer around homes and using nonflammable building materials. Still, firefighters have been urging residents to move wood piles away from their homes or clear leaves from underneath decks, Trask said.

While a respite from dangerous fire weather has arrived with cooler and wetter conditions over the past week, it's too early to know if fire activity will die down for the winter, Dykes added. That will require repeated bouts of rain and snow to prevent fall leaves and other vegetation from quickly drying out again, officials said.

"We're not out of it yet," Dykes said.





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# Tensions in power shift not unusual in transition

TRANSITION FROM AI

other issues that “I will be addressing on my first days back in Office, and before.”

But for Trudeau, who faces an election next year, the mission to Mar-a-Lago was unfavorably compared at home to Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum, who instead struck back at Trump with a letter threatening counter-tariffs.

While Canada spent the week stewing, attention in Trump-world had already moved on.

The president-elect made appointments to his economic team and announced more plans to dismantle the “deep state.” Just days after he threatened the United States’ top two trading partners via social media, he posted an AI-generated video of him popping out of a turkey and dancing on President Joe Biden’s Thanksgiving table.

This hyperactive flow of events during the transition has overshadowed the reaction of outsiders to Trump’s pronouncements and their impact — intended or not — on other international actors.

In Israel, Trump’s strong support for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and supposedly leaked accounts of their post-election conversations have led to widespread speculation there that the new cease-fire deal with Lebanese militant group Hezbollah was less a result of painstaking diplomacy by Biden’s emissaries than a giveaway to lighten Trump’s load once he takes office. There are similar suggestions that Netanyahu will continue to stymie Biden’s efforts to end the conflict in Gaza to let the new U.S. president declare a diplomatic victory after his inauguration on Jan. 20.

In Ukraine, there is consternation that Trump has said he will immediately seek to negotiate a peace agreement that will probably allow Russia to continue occupying parts of its neighbor. The prospect of a deal has led many to suspect Biden’s timing in finally lifting restrictions on Ukraine’s use of U.S. weapons and shoveling as much money as possible into military assistance for Kyiv be-

fore the new administration takes over.

Trump has challenged the oft-quoted adage of “one president at a time” in new ways. Tweets and declarations that may or may not become policy have set some foreign governments on edge, while delighting others. Traditions and standards to ensure the smooth transfer of power — ethics agreements, expressions of fealty to treaties and international agreements, FBI vetting of nominees for senior positions — have been ignored.

During his first transition, Trump’s team regularly released lists of dozens of foreign leaders he spoke with. This time around, such announcements have been few and sporadic.

“The last time, they ... wanted to show how important they were,” said Philip Zelikow, a former diplomat and presidential scholar who helped manage George W. Bush’s first transition. “They’re not so insecure about that this time. They don’t need to say ‘See, world leaders call me.’”

Trump made no secret of his foreign policy plans during his 2024 campaign, but it’s been hard to read a transition team that has felt little apparent need to explain actions such as an apparent secret meeting between Trump confidant Elon Musk and Iran’s top U.N. diplomat or reported conversations between Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

At the same time, Musk — who has been on the line during Trump phone calls with foreign leaders such as Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky — has shown little inclination to hold his tongue on other matters that could affect security relationships. In social media posts over the past week, he ridiculed “idiots [who] are still building manned fighter jets like the F-35,” the newest generation U.S. combat aircraft that has been purchased by a number of U.S. allies and partners. Calling the planes “obsolete” in the “age of drones,” he suggested they were useful only in “helping Air Force officers get laid.”

Despite the bawdy tone, neither a newcomer’s attempts to undercut the incumbent’s policies, nor an incumbent’s efforts



DAVID RYDER/GETTY IMAGES

Cars enter the United States from Canada in Washington state last week. President-elect Donald Trump has threatened tariffs on Canada.

to straitjacket an incoming administration’s plans are new in the history of presidential transitions. As vice president-elect a week before Barack Obama replaced Bush, Biden traveled to the wartime hot spots of Afghanistan and Pakistan for policy meetings with local leaders and U.S. military commanders.

The Obama administration cried foul when Trump, just a month before his first inauguration, fired off email and social media demands that it veto a U.N. resolution denouncing Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Obama didn’t listen: The United States abstained, allowing the symbolic measure to pass.

Just as Biden is now trying to lock in policies in Ukraine and the Middle East, Trump, in the final days of his first term, put Cuba back on the list of state sponsors of terrorism, declared China guilty of genocide against the Uyghurs, tried to expand the U.S. relationship with Taiwan and designated Yemen’s Iran-backed Houthis a terrorist organization — all designed to thwart Biden campaign promises.

Both friends and foes have traditionally tried to get ahead of an upcoming U.S. power shift. At the end of the Harry S. Truman administration, as his Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote in a memoir, foreign representatives “treated us with the gentle and affectionate solicitude that one might show to the dying, but asked neither help nor advice nor commitment for a future we would not share with them.”

Decades later, Henry Kissinger observed that during the final days of any administration, foreign governments “reserve their best efforts and their real attention for the new teams.”

But unlike Michael Flynn, the national security adviser Trump fired just weeks after his first inauguration for lying to the FBI about transition talks with Russia’s U.S. ambassador, Kissinger was careful to make official records of at least two conversations he held with a Soviet diplomat during the transition from the Democratic administration of Lyndon B. Johnson to Republican Richard M. Nixon.

“Boris Sedov, officially counsel-

or of the Soviet Embassy, but in fact a member of Soviet intelligence, called on me today at his request,” Kissinger wrote in a Jan. 2, 1969, memo now in the archives of the State Department Historian. Subjects of that discussion, he wrote, included a U.S. warning against “surprises” in the Middle East, Vietnam, strategic arms talks and even a Soviet suggestion for Nixon’s inaugural address.

In recent weeks, Rep. Michael Waltz (R-Florida), Trump’s newly designated national security adviser, has spoken out on a number of occasions about current foreign policy issues, claiming that some adversaries are already shaking in their boots over Trump’s reoccupation of the Oval Office. Dubbing it “The Trump Effect,” Waltz wrote on X that “dictators” in Venezuela, Nicaragua and Cuba were panicking. “This is what leadership looks like,” he said.

After the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Netanyahu and former Israeli defense minister Yoav Gallant 10 days ago, Waltz warned: “You can expect a strong response to the

antisemitic bias of the ICC and UN come January.” When a Biden-negotiated cease-fire in Lebanon was announced last week, Waltz declared: “Everyone is coming to the table because of President Trump.”

Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida), Trump’s pick for secretary of state, has had at least one phone conversation with Secretary of State Antony Blinken, but the two have yet to sit down together. The Trump team’s refusal to sign transition and ethics documents or submit to FBI vetting has prevented current national security officials from sharing classified briefings with Trump officials without existing security clearances.

But Waltz last week dismissed any suggestion that Trump was conducting a shadow foreign policy. Biden national security adviser “Jake Sullivan and I have had discussions,” he said on “Fox News Sunday.” “For our adversaries out there that think this is a time of opportunity, that they can play one administration off the other, they’re wrong, and we are hand-in-glove. ... We are one team.”



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## ANALYSIS

# Trump Cabinet picks: Some clear goals, others murky

BY AMBER PHILLIPS

President-elect Donald Trump has quickly put together his Cabinet picks. Loyalty to him has been a major factor.

But Trump is also sending a mixed message with his choices: Will his administration be more of a traditional Republican one, or one that shakes up the system as much as it can?

And despite saying during the presidential campaign that he had nothing to do with Project 2025, the policy blueprint coordinated by the conservative Heritage Foundation, Trump picked one of its architects to a top government job.

"On a lot of this, we just don't know what to make of it," Michael Strain, an economist at the conservative-leaning American Enterprise Institute, said of Trump's Cabinet announcements.

Here are some broad trends behind the Cabinet picks so far.

## On some, Trump is clear: He wants disruption and retribution

Several of Trump's selections for some of the highest-profile jobs are longtime loyalists. Some seem to have an animus for the agencies they would lead and have professed a willingness to carry out Trump's personal agenda, including prosecuting his enemies.

Nowhere is that clearer than in Trump's picks to lead the Justice Department. After former Republican congressman Matt Gaetz pulled out of consideration, Trump picked former Florida attorney general Pam Bondi, who has expressed a willingness to prosecute the Justice Department lawyers who charged Trump in two criminal cases, as The Washington Post's Mark Ber- man and David Nakamura write.

Bondi might soon be in a position to fire nearly everyone who worked to investigate the president-elect during the past few years. "The prosecutors will be prosecuted, the bad ones," she said last year.

Special counsel Jack Smith moved last week to drop both



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Donald Trump with Pam Bondi, his latest pick for attorney general, during a 2018 meeting at the White House.**

federal cases against Trump, including election interference charges related to the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol. Smith said he “stands fully behind” the allegations against Trump, while also referencing Justice Department policy prohibiting the prosecution of a sitting president.

Trump's picks for other Cabinet roles point to ways he wants to disrupt or even overturn how the government works, including:

Pete Hegseth, a former Fox News host tapped to lead the Defense Department, has said he wants to stop “woke”-ness in the military. Critics on Capitol Hill say that Hegseth is unqualified to

lead the Pentagon and that the selection requires close scrutiny.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., whom Trump named to be the nation's top health official, is a vaccine skeptic. Some Republican senators say Kennedy will need to explain those views.

Natural gas CEO Chris Wright, who has attacked climate-change policies, is Trump's pick to be energy secretary. Former congressman Lee Zeldin, a Trump loyalist with little environmental experience, was chosen to be the next Environmental Protection Agency administrator.

Trump's supporters argue these unconventional picks are exactly what Americans voted for.

As Kevin Roberts, president of the Heritage Foundation, writes in *The Washington Post*: “The American people elected Trump again so that he could break what needs to be broken.”

## On other picks, what Trump wants is murkier

Trump is sending mixed messages with his picks for some other agencies. He named a Wall Street billionaire, Scott Bessent, to be the all-important treasury secretary, which pays the government's bills and helps drive economic policy.

But Bessent seems to harbor some skepticism about Trump's controversial plan to impose tar-

iffs on most imports. Trump thinks tariffs will bring manufacturing back to the United States, but economists warn tariffs could raise prices for most Americans and worsen inflation. Bessent has suggested they are a negotiating tool, rather than a way to reboot American manufacturing.

And instituting tariffs might make it too expensive for Trump to cut taxes, especially for the wealthy or for corporations. So Trump might have to choose: tax cuts or tariffs.

For the head of the Labor Department, Trump picked an outgoing Republican member of Congress, Lori Chavez-DeRemer, who has close ties to unions — a

constituency that has traditionally been allied with Democrats, but whose members are increasingly supporting Trump.

And when it comes to immigration, Trump has made clear with his picks that he wants to try mass deportations. He has named hard-liners from his first administration as he looks to deport an untold number of immigrants living in the country illegally.

But the effects of these moves would contradict some of his economic goals. Deporting immigrants who haven't committed crimes could raise prices and make inflation worse amid a worker shortage, economists warn. (In addition, it could also look bad politically.)

So Trump might have to choose here, too: mass deportations or keeping inflation down.

"There are a lot of conflicting goals here," Strain said. "It seems to me like President Trump hasn't made up his mind on a lot of these questions. But something has got to give."

**A lot depends on Trump —  
and perhaps the economy**

In his first term, Trump was often motivated by the stock market. And he occasionally bowed to public pressure and ended controversial policies, such as separating migrant families at the border.

Senate Republicans have a say on who leads Trump's government, too. Most of his picks need a majority of votes in the Senate to be confirmed. (Although Trump has also said that if he meets resistance, he would bypass the Senate to install whomever he wants using recess appointments.)

The mere potential of a confirmation process before the Senate was enough for Gaetz to step aside eight days after Trump picked him to lead the Justice Department. Gaetz had been under investigation over allegations involving sexual misconduct and illegal drug use. But other nominees with sexual misconduct allegations against them haven't felt that same pressure.

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# THE WORLD



PHOTOS BY ED RAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## See the scale of destruction in a Hezbollah stronghold

**BY ED RAM**

Mangled cars and collapsed buildings line the two-mile stretch of road that cuts through the center of Dahiyeh, a southern suburb of Beirut and key Hezbollah stronghold.

Named after Hadi Nasrallah, the son of slain Hezbollah leader Hasan Nasrallah, the road runs south from Horsh Beirut, the city's largest public park, and makes its way through the rest of Dahiyeh's urban sprawl.

Over the past two months, when Israel stepped up its aerial campaign against Hezbollah in Lebanon, dozens of buildings along the road were destroyed in airstrikes.

The raids targeted what the military said were Hezbollah offices and weapons storage facilities. But the strikes also leveled shops, restaurants, cafés and the homes of civilian residents.

The World Bank estimates that the war partially or fully damaged 100,000 housing units across Lebanon, with physical damage and economic losses estimated to cost more than \$8.5 billion.

In his battered workshop on Hadi Nasrallah, plumber Chaban Ibrahim, 60, sifted through his equipment. The building next door, which was hit in September, is now a pile of rubble and smashed belongings.

Before the war, the street was alive with trade and businesses big and small, Ibrahim explained. "It's Beirut's industrial heart," he said.

It's also a "very important area for Hezbollah and for the support base," said Nicholas Blanford, a nonresident senior fellow with the Atlantic Council's Middle East Programs.

Hadi Nasrallah died in 1997 fighting Israeli troops in southern Lebanon.

His father was killed in an Israeli strike in Dahiyeh in September — and his face now adorns highway billboards and the sides of buildings, damaged or not, in Beirut's southern suburbs.

"The community has lost its historic leader, its epic leader," said Paul Salem, vice president for international engagement at the Middle East Institute in Washington.

The residents of Hadi Nasrallah Street say they are overwhelmed by the task ahead.

"We are tired, very tired," Ibrahim said, dragging a contorted shelving unit across his workshop floor.



**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:** In Dahiyeh, a southern suburb of Beirut, a woman walks Friday along Hadi Nasrallah Street, past buildings and palm trees damaged in Israeli airstrikes. A car amid the ruin. A digger removes rubble from a building decimated by an airstrike. Plumber Chaban Ibrahim (left) talks to a colleague, Abu Taha, from his workshop. Dozens of buildings on Hadi Nasrallah Street were destroyed in the past two months.





# Syrian rebels defend, add to gains as lightning offensive staggers foes

SYRIA FROM A1

and Idlib provinces with the aim of “strengthening the defense lines in order to absorb the attack.”

The surprise HTS offensive has abruptly shifted the long-fixed front lines in Syria’s civil war, which began after an uprising against the government in 2011. The rebels’ rapid advance from the insurgent stronghold in Idlib has also posed a challenge to Assad’s main sponsors, Russia and Iran, at a moment when they’re preoccupied with conflicts in Ukraine and Lebanon.

Iran’s foreign minister was expected Sunday in Damascus, the Syrian capital, Syria’s state news agency reported. A senior Iraqi official said Baghdad was sending reinforcements to Iraq’s border with Syria “to prevent terrorist groups from infiltrating” the country.

“These are precautionary measures due to the very concerning situation in Syria,” said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss security matters.

Syrian rebels breached the western limits of Aleppo on Friday, video confirmed by The Washington Post shows. By evening, they could be seen driving through the streets, honking horns and firing weapons in apparent celebration.

Rebel forces appeared Saturday to have wrested control of

most of Aleppo, witnesses said, as thousands of civilians fled. Videos showed rebel fighters at the city’s main airport, and at the Citadel, the medieval palace in the center of the city, according to videos verified by The Post.

Abdulkafi Alhamdo, an opposition activist from Aleppo, told The Post late Saturday that government forces retained control of just one area of the city, a military academy.

Alhamdo, a professor of English, had been exiled from the city since 2016, when government forces retook it from rebels.

He returned early Friday, he said, a few hours after rebels entered. Since then, he had visited places he knew, including the Citadel and the Aleppo University dormitories.

There, he found tearful students worried about what the rebel incursion meant.

“I told them I am sure you will be safer, God willing,” he said. Assad and his government had “colonized their minds,” he said, indoctrinating them to fear his opponents.

The rebels were committed to treating people “with morals,” he was sure. “This is the most successful battle in the history of the revolution.”

But he added: “I cannot tell you people were relaxed or happy at the beginning.”

A priest in Aleppo said members of his congregation had been sheltering in their church

since Friday. “We’re hearing strikes in the distance but we don’t know where it’s coming from,” said the priest, who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of concern for his safety.

From the church, they could not see the armed men who roamed the streets — some of them hard-line Islamist fighters who have treated religious minorities in Syria harshly.

“Everything you’ve been hearing about, we’ve been living,” the priest said.

The rebels, pushing south from Idlib, appeared to recapture several towns they had lost to the government in 2020. In one video posted to social media, a rebel describes his location in the town of Ltamenah, just south of the Idlib border.

Late Saturday, HTS said it had taken control of several areas on the outskirts of Hama, a government-controlled city.

At least four armored vehicles from the Syrian army massed at a roundabout near the northern edge of Hama, video posted to social media late Saturday showed.

The Syrian army said it was “ready to repel any terrorist attack” in the city. “We call on our fellow citizens not to believe the rumors and lies being spread regarding the situation on the ground.”

Susannah George and Mustafa Salim contributed to this report.



MOHAMMED AL-RIFAI/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

**TOP: Opposition fighters tear down a portrait of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad in Aleppo on Saturday amid a major offensive by rebel forces. LEFT: A Syrian army armored vehicle lies upside-down in the village of Hass, southwest of Aleppo. Rebel commanders claimed Saturday that “Assad forces completely collapse in northern and central Syria.”**



OMAR ALBAM/AP

## IRELAND Counting underway in national election

A marathon vote-counting exercise was underway Saturday in Ireland’s national election after an exit poll suggested that the contest is a close-fought race among the country’s three largest political parties.

Election officials opened ballot boxes at count centers across the country, kicking off

what could be several days of tallying the results. If the exit poll is borne out, that could be followed by days or weeks of negotiations to form a coalition government.

The exit poll suggested voters’ support is split widely among the three big parties — Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin — as well as several smaller parties and an assortment of independents ranging from the left to the far right.

The poll said that center-right

party Fine Gael was the first choice of 21 percent of voters and another center-right party, Fianna Fáil, of 19.5 percent. The two parties governed in coalition before the election. Left-of-center opposition party Sinn Féin was at 21.1 percent in the poll. Pollster Ipsos B&A asked 5,018 voters across the country how they had cast their ballots. The survey has a margin of error of plus or minus 1.4 percentage points.

— Associated Press

## KOSOVO Powerful explosion cuts water and power

A powerful explosion damaged a water canal and temporarily cut water and power supplies to Kosovo’s cities, the prime minister said Saturday, blaming groups supported by Serbia. At least eight people were arrested.

Prime Minister Albin Kurti said the blast on Friday in Vrage,

37 miles north of the capital, Pristina, disrupted the supply of water to some cities and major power plants. It followed two other explosions in previous days at a police station and local authorities in the same area in the north of the country, mostly populated by the ethnic Serb minority.

— Associated Press

**Icelanders** voted to elect a new parliament Saturday after disagreements over

immigration, energy policy and the economy forced Prime Minister Bjarni Benediktsson to pull the plug on his coalition government and call an early election. This is Iceland’s sixth general election since the 2008 financial crisis devastated the economy and ushered in a new era of political instability. Polls suggested the country could be in for another upheaval, with support for the three governing parties plunging.

— From news services

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# Iran frames Hezbollah as victorious, but its losses are substantial

IRAN FROM A1

could revisit its ban on nuclear weapons and opt for a bomb to restore deterrence, worrying U.S. officials. “I can tell you, quite frankly, that there is this debate going on in Iran ... whether we should change our nuclear doctrine,” Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi told reporters Thursday, according to state media.

What Iranian leaders do next could determine the next phase of the conflict with Israel. Iran’s official line is that the cease-fire was a demonstration of Hezbollah’s military might. “Hezbollah once again shattered [the] myth of Israel’s invincibility,” Araghchi wrote in a post on X.

But the reality on the ground is much more grim. Hezbollah is still counting its dead, its supporters have had their towns and villages destroyed, and a World Bank assessment estimated \$8.5 billion in physical damage and economic losses for Lebanon because of the war.

What Iran did was seize an opportunity to preserve what was left of Hezbollah, according to Sanam Vakil, director of the Middle East and North Africa program at London’s Chatham House think tank.

Because of that, the cease-fire allows Iran some reprieve: It can take stock of Hezbollah’s losses, start rebuilding the movement and potentially reassess its regional strategy of deterrence, which relied heavily on the Lebanese group, once the strongest of Tehran’s allied militias.

“It is important to build on what was achieved on the Lebanese front and move toward further escalation [against Israel], particularly from Iraq and Yemen,” the Iran-backed leader of Yemen’s Houthi militants, Abdulmalik al-Houthi, said in a speech last week addressing the Lebanon cease-fire.

Both the Houthis and Iran’s proxy militants in Iraq have fired drones and missiles at Israel in solidarity with Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon. But the attacks have been largely symbolic — most of the missiles and drones are shot down before reaching Israeli territory. And some Hezbollah members have grown disillusioned with Iran and its network of armed groups, also known as the “axis of resistance,” which they say failed to come to Lebanon’s aid during its worst war in decades.

“Lebanon was at its most vulnerable during heavy bombings, yet support from other members of the resistance axis, including Yemen and Iraq, was minimal at



Wael Hamzeh/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

Lebanese people celebrate Wednesday in Dahiyeh, a southern suburb of Beirut, after a cease-fire between Hezbollah and Israel went into effect.

best,” said an individual close to Hezbollah and familiar with the group’s thinking. He blamed Iran for not providing more support during the war and said Hezbollah had expected other Iran-backed groups to relieve some of the pressure by ramping up their own attacks on Israel.

“Tehran was unwilling to escalate the situation,” the individual said.

Such sentiment could complicate reconstruction efforts in Lebanon. After the last war between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006, Iran provided significant funding to the group to help rebuild and maintain support among its Shiite Muslim constituencies in southern Lebanon and Beirut’s suburbs.

Iranian officials have again pledged to fund Lebanon’s recovery, according to public statements and the individual close to Hezbollah. But after decades of U.S. and international sanctions,



Jose SENA GOULAO/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

**Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi said his country is debating whether it should alter its policy on nuclear weapons.**

as well as a spiraling currency crisis, it’s unclear whether Iran has the resources to rehabilitate swaths of Lebanon.

Still, Iran’s involvement in the postwar period could deepen its

influence.

“Iran is prepared to allocate funds for reconstruction and to ensure Hezbollah’s survival, as well as to maintain support within the Shiite community,” the individual close to Hezbollah said. “However, this support is now more directly under Iranian influence,” he added, saying the group expects Iran to send advisers to supervise funding and retrain Hezbollah’s military ranks.

But Vakil cautioned against “zero-sum assessments of Iran’s strengths and weaknesses.”

“The strength of Iran’s network, the axis of resistance, is its fluidity,” she said, adding that Iran has developed these relationships with armed groups to survive for the long term.

In the coming weeks, the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, as well as Iran, could shift in part to Syria, where Israel has significantly ramped up strikes in recent months, according to the United Nations’ special envoy to Syria.

The war-battered country is a key conduit for supplying Hezbollah with weapons, Israel says, and the Syrian government coordinates closely with Iranian mili-

tary commanders, one of whom was killed Thursday in Aleppo in a surprise attack by rebels.

On Monday, Israeli strikes in Syria also targeted three bridges near the border with Lebanon. Israel’s military said in a statement that they were “used as smuggling routes to the Hezbollah terrorist organization.”

“These strikes follow similar operations in recent weeks targeting Syrian regime smuggling in the area,” the military said.

Despite the setbacks, the partnership between Hezbollah and Iran is likely to endure, Vakil said.

“The Iranian relationship with Hezbollah doesn’t end with this defeat to Israeli forces,” she said. “This is a relationship that was nurtured and cultivated over decades. The relationship will certainly live on.”

Haidamous reported from Beirut. Salim reported from Baghdad.

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# At critical moment for NATO, Oreshnik missile a new threat

Putin’s use of weapon sends powerful signal about his intentions

BY ROBYN DIXON

After Russia’s launch last month of its Oreshnik intermediate-range missile, state-owned propaganda outlet RT aired a video graphic depicting the missile’s flight times to major European capitals: 20 minutes to London and Paris, 15 minutes to Berlin and 12 minutes to Warsaw.

In his most aggressive nuclear signaling since invading Ukraine, President Vladimir Putin has repeatedly extolled the missile in public statements, claiming that NATO has no way to intercept it and warning that Moscow could use it against Kyiv’s “decision-making centers.” The missile is nuclear-capable, but for now, Putin says, it will be armed with multiple conventional warheads.

“We believe that we have the right to use our weapons against the military facilities of those countries that allow their weapons to be used against our facilities,” Putin warned in a Nov. 21 address, announcing the Oreshnik strike on an aerospace manufacturer in Dnipro, Ukraine.

Western leaders and analysts dismissed Putin’s rhetoric as more Russian saber-rattling, after yet another of Moscow’s red lines was crossed when President Joe Biden allowed Kyiv to use the U.S.-made Army Tactical Missile System, or ATACMS, to strike targets inside Russia.

But Putin’s threat, clearly directed at Europe, comes at a critical moment, with the United States in political transition and Europe in trepidation of President-elect Donald Trump’s admiration for the Russian leader and the extent to which he could scale back Washington’s commitment to NATO. Meanwhile, Russia is steadily gaining ground in eastern Ukraine, intensifying pressure on Kyiv’s forces as Putin rules out any compromise to end the war.

Moscow’s use of an intermediate-range ballistic missile sends its own powerful signal about Putin’s determination to prevail in Ukraine, as he seeks to weaken NATO, split Europe from the United States, deter European support for Ukraine and bend Europe’s security architecture to Russia’s will.

The Oreshnik — meaning “hazelnut tree” — poses a direct and potentially devastating threat to Europe, even if conventionally armed, according to analysts.

It marks what some Western arms experts see as the opening shot in a new European arms race that could last for decades

and consume billions of dollars in NATO countries and Russia, with Moscow already plowing about 40 percent of its budget into military and security forces.

In a move foreshadowed months ago but timed to express displeasure over Ukraine’s use of ATACMS and French-British Storm Shadow missiles against Russia, Putin recently also formally lowered Russia’s threshold for using nuclear weapons.

This deepens the ambiguity about when Russia could use nuclear weapons, as Putin seeks to foster uncertainty and amplify European security fears ahead of Trump’s inauguration.

Russia’s previous nuclear doctrine stated that it could use nuclear weapons against a conventional attack that threatened its very existence. That wording was replaced by a reference to attacks that posed a “critical threat” to Russian or Belarusian sovereignty or territorial integrity, as well as a provision that Moscow could launch a nuclear attack against a nonnuclear power — such as Ukraine — that is using the weapons of a nuclear power — such as the United States.

The Pentagon as well as Western arms-control experts believe that the Oreshnik is not new — they say it is probably based on the RS-26 Rubezh missile, which was tested several times more than a decade ago, publicly shelved in 2018 and recently pulled out and modified. Putin ordered mass production of the Oreshnik and said many similar systems were being developed.

At a Nov. 22 meeting between Putin and top military and security chiefs, Sergei Karakayev, commander of Russia’s strategic missile forces, said that the Oreshnik “can hit targets throughout Europe” and that a massed attack “would be comparable to the use of nuclear weapons.”

Decker Eveleth, an analyst at the CNA security think tank, based in Arlington, Virginia, said that Russia could destroy air bases and military targets across a wide area of Europe with just a few conventionally armed Oreshniks, and that the weapon’s nuclear capability carries a striking nuclear threat.

“Oreshnik probably has the capability to carry six nuclear warheads into Europe in about 15 to 20 minutes, and due to the speed and trajectory the missile would fly on, it would be extremely difficult to intercept,” he said.

At the meeting with security chiefs, Putin smiled as he praised the missile, boasting that no one else in the world has such a weapon and promising state awards to the developers. His message was clear: Russia has a significant advantage over Europe in missile strike capabili-



FLORENT VERGNES/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Shrapnel in front of a damaged rehabilitation center on Nov. 22 after a Russian attack on Dnipro, Ukraine. Russian leader Vladimir Putin announced a strike Nov. 21 using the nuclear-capable Oreshnik, which, for now, Putin says, will be armed with conventional warheads.

ties, at a time when Trump’s future support for NATO is in doubt.

“The desired effect was certainly achieved: panic, disagreements, calls for negotiations and peace,” said hawkish state television anchor Vladimir Solovyov, gloating that Russia could strike “those NATO bases that are supplying the weapons which the Americans are launching from the territory of Ukraine targeting Russian territory — in Poland, Romania, Britain or wherever else.”

RT Editor in Chief Margarita Simonyan said on the same program that Russia needs to terrify Europe with the real impact of war. “Until they see the fist flying toward their snout, they will not stop,” she said.

Alexander Graef, senior researcher at the Hamburg-based Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, believes that Europe is at the threshold of “a new missile age.” In July, the United States and Germany announced plans to rotate intermediate-range U.S. missiles into Germany starting in 2026 — prompting a sharp response from Moscow — while several nations have joined a French-led project, the European Long-Range Strike Approach (ELSA), to develop a long-range missile.

“We are in an arms race, and it’s going to develop over the next 20 years,” Graef said. “And so what I think is going to happen is that these different parties — Russia, states in Europe, the United States — are growing their arsenals because they don’t have the numbers yet to use these weapons effectively and to destroy the many targets that are possibly there.”

But some doubt NATO’s will to deter Russia, as Moscow seeks to exploit the divisions between

states, courting Hungary’s Viktor Orbán, who has taken a staunchly pro-Kremlin stance.

Boris Bondarev, a former Russian diplomat and an expert on arms control and global security, said NATO leaders had repeatedly faltered in the face of Putin’s nuclear threats, which had succeeded in deterring timely Western military deliveries to Kyiv, allowing Putin to avoid defeat.

“I don’t think that the plans in Moscow are really to make a nuclear war. The weapon remains fear. It’s first of all psychological warfare, and I think it is quite successful. This propaganda works,” he said. “It’s essentially just a misunderstanding of how to deal with Vladimir Putin.”

Putin, Bondarev continued, would make no deal with Trump to end the war in Ukraine unless it gave him a victory over Kyiv, shutting Ukraine out of NATO and leaving occupied Ukrainian territory in Russian hands. That would pave the way for the

Russian leader to confront Europe in the future, potentially even invading one of the Baltic nations.

“He doesn’t want to divide Ukraine. He wants to divide the world. He wants his own sphere of influence where no one, including the United States, can get into without his permission. I don’t know why Americans do not see it, because if they make a deal with Putin, they will hand him this victory.”

The Oreshnik would have been barred under the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) between the United States and the Soviet Union, which banned missiles with ranges of 310 to 3,400 miles. Trump withdrew the United States from the treaty in 2019 after long-running U.S. accusations of Russian violations.

“We had a treaty that prohibited this kind of missile, and that was for good reason. It was because they were deemed very

destabilizing,” said François Di-az-Maurin, associate editor for nuclear affairs at the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, referring to the missile’s speed, its multiple independently targeted warheads and the potential for a catastrophic misunderstanding created by its dual conventional and nuclear capabilities.

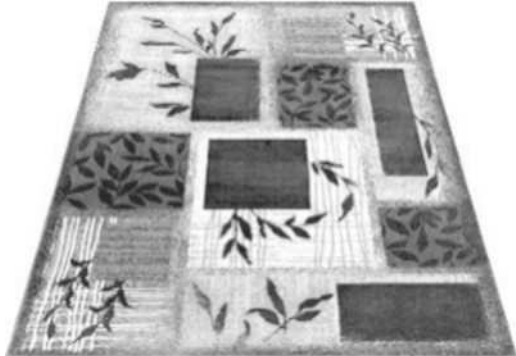
“Once launched, this missile gets to European capitals within 12 to 16 minutes. It’s very little time to be able to react, to detect it. And then added to that is a possibility that it could have a nuclear warhead inside of several of them. It gives very little time to know what’s coming at you.”

Even as Europe awakens to the need to protect itself and deter Russia, it cannot yet match Putin, who has geared the bulk of Russia’s economy to war and weapons production, he said.

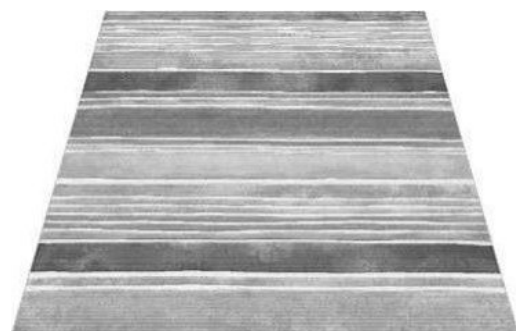
“This new missile is actually a confirmation why Europe should actually take the lead on its own security,” Diaz-Maurin said.

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Traditional Russian wooden dolls, matryoshka, depicting President-elect Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin at a souvenir shop in St. Petersburg.

# The Russian guide to Trump’s Cabinet picks

Who’s good for Russia and who’s going to be a problem among the president-elect’s choices, according to Russian commentators

BY MARY ILYUSHINA

Russian officials and media outlets have been closely watching President-elect Donald Trump’s Cabinet picks, meticulously tracking the nominees’ positions on military aid to Ukraine and opinions of President Vladimir Putin, in hopes of predicting the policies of a president who is famously unpredictable.

Officially, the Kremlin has taken a rather cool, wait-and-see approach to Trump’s victory, weighing whether he would stick to his more conciliatory pre-election campaign rhetoric or be beholden to a largely anti-Russian security establishment.

But in state media, there has been close scrutiny and sharp opinions of the picks. Vladimir Solovyov, one of the loudest propagandists on Russian state television, has even launched a hashtag, “D Team,” where D stands for Donald, on his Telegram channel, inviting his 1.3 million followers to track the nominations.

The conclusion so far is a mixed bag from the Russian perspective, ranging from director of national intelligence pick Tulsi Gabbard, who has been sympathetic to Moscow for years, to the choice for national security adviser, Michael Waltz, who calls for finding leverage to bring Putin to the negotiating table.

Pro-Kremlin commentators were cautiously optimistic about some picks, hoping that the Republicans will eventually follow through on what they see as a “pragmatic” resolution to the war in Ukraine: forcing Kyiv into a peace settlement and turning to domestic issues.

“Somewhere in a Kyiv bunker a former comedian is quietly whimpering,” said an op-ed published by state-run news agency RIA Novosti, referring to President Volodymyr Zelensky’s past as a TV personality. “But if the show that is unfolding will remain just a show, we will say ‘thanks for the popcorn’ and move on.”

## Tulsi Gabbard, director of national intelligence

Gabbard’s planned appointment as the head of national intelligence elicited the most excitement in Russia, because she has long been regarded as a darling of the propagandist Russian RT network, which amplified her sympathetic takes on Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad and Putin.

Following the announcement, the newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda published an op-ed titled “The CIA and FBI are trembling: why Trump protégé Tulsi Gabbard will support Russia as head of National Intelligence.”

Authors of the piece, who referred to the former U.S. representative as “an audacious brunette beauty,” highlighted that she “exclusively blames the White House for the conflict in Ukraine and she is sympathetic to Russian President Vladimir Putin.”

“Tulsi has a theory: the Democrats staged a provocation in



Tulsi Gabbard, Trump’s choice for director of national intelligence, is seen as popular with the Russian RT network. A Russian newspaper reported that she blames the White House for the war in Ukraine.

Ukraine and began to demonize Russia in order to prevent Trump from becoming president,” the article stated.

Oleg Tsarev, a former pro-Moscow Ukrainian politician who now lives in Russia, called her appointment “an encouraging decision,” citing her recent remarks that Vice President Kamala Harris was a “main instigator” in the Ukraine war by suggesting a few days before the invasion that Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

Gabbard also posted a video saying the United States was operating 25 to 30 biological research labs in Ukraine and accused the Biden administration of covering them up, a debunked conspiracy theory that the Russian Defense Ministry has been pushing for years.

## Keith Kellogg, special envoy for Ukraine and Russia

Trump’s selection of a new envoy to lead negotiations for ending the war in Ukraine has been met with a lukewarm reaction in Moscow.

Sergei Markov, a Kremlin-connected political analyst, suggest-

ed that Moscow sees Kellogg as likely to follow in the footsteps of Kurt Volker, Trump’s Ukraine envoy during his first term and widely unpopular in Russia.

“There is no particular hope for General Kellogg in Russia, he is probably the same corrupt Deep State functionary as Kurt Volker,” Markov wrote on his Telegram blog, adding that Volker “betrayed” Trump and pursued an anti-Russia policy that led to war.

Russian media have highlighted Kellogg’s previous remarks, including his comment that both Hitler and Napoleon struggled to defeat Russia — interpreted as a warning about the difficulties of a ground war against the country.

Other analysts have been scrutinizing Kellogg’s peace plan, which calls for a quick cease-fire and negotiated settlement, implying territorial concessions.

Kellogg proposed tying U.S. aid to Kyiv’s participation in peace talks, while threatening to give Ukraine “everything it needs to kill [Putin] in the field” if Moscow refuses to negotiate. The plan also suggests Russia might engage in talks if the United States delayed Ukraine’s NATO membership for

an extended period — which at least, said commentators, recognizes Russia’s concern over NATO.

“At first glance, this ‘plan’ doesn’t seem to promise an easier six months for Russia,” said Maxim Suchkov, a Russian political scientist. “We hope Trump wants peace, but his version of peace is ‘America First.’ That means peace on U.S. terms — not Russia’s.”

## Marco Rubio, secretary of state

Zvezda TV, a channel funded by the Defense Ministry, highlighted Rubio’s opposition to continued Ukraine aid, which “made the authorities in Kyiv feel sick to their stomach.” In 2022, Rubio voted in favor of a Ukraine aid package but has since reversed his position, with Russian commentators noting the change in his track record when it comes to the war.

Other pundits, however, view Rubio as a hawk with a stance on Russia that is more aggressive than that of the incoming president. News outlets recalled that the senator introduced multiple bills devising punitive measures against Russia, including tougher

financial and personal sanctions against members of the government elite, and he called Putin a “thug.”

In 2022, Rubio met with Leonid Volkov, a close ally of late opposition leader and Putin’s nemesis Alexei Navalny, to discuss sanctions lists against Moscow.

Pro-Kremlin blogger Oleg Yassinsky called Rubio “an outspoken American Cold War imperialist” who considers Russia and its allies Iran and China direct enemies of the United States.

## Michael Waltz, national security adviser

Along with Rubio, Waltz’s planned nomination for a key security position is among the most concerning picks for Moscow, where the congressman is viewed as a hawk intent on ending the war in Ukraine by “restoring deterrence.”

On one hand, there have been his remarks about the need to bring the war “to a responsible end” and his opposition to additional support for Ukraine that have been played extensively in Russian news.

But his overall criticism of Moscow, calling Russia “a gas station with nukes,” pushing for stricter enforcement of energy sanctions and talking about the need to “stop Putin,” added to Moscow’s concerns that Trump’s presidency may not yield much gain for the Kremlin.

Even more alarming to Russian watchers was Waltz’s comment that he met with Biden’s national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, to discuss matters like Ukraine and that the two “are one team” in the transition.

## Pete Hegseth, defense secretary

Hegseth’s background as a Fox News host has been a source of mockery among Russian pundits, who saw this pick as Trump’s attempt to “troll the American deep state.”

An op-ed on the RT state network written by prominent Russian military blogger Ilya Mersh, known as Starshe Eddy, described Hegseth as “an eccentric character” whose grand plan to overhaul the U.S. military from the top down, including by removing

“woke” generals and eliminating the Pentagon’s diversity efforts, will probably drown in “administrative frictions.”

“This will take a few years ... and there won’t be much time left for actual preparation and conduct of wars,” the column said, adding that Moscow hopes Trump will make good on his promise to focus on domestic affairs.

## John Ratcliffe, CIA director

Russian commentators focused on Ratcliffe’s time as director of national intelligence in the first Trump administration and his determination to declassify reports that he said proved that Russian interference in the 2020 election was a hoax, a narrative the Kremlin welcomed.

“According to Donald Trump, it was Ratcliffe who exposed Hillary Clinton’s lie that Russia interfered in the 2016 election,” read a summary on Solovyov’s Telegram channel. The post also focused on Ratcliffe repeatedly sounding the alarm about China being the chief U.S. adversary in the long run.

Other outlets, however, noted that he criticized the Biden administration for what he saw as its weak response to Russia’s invasion.

## Scott Bessent, treasury secretary

Russian business outlets warned that Trump’s choice of hedge fund manager Scott Bessent for Treasury would fall in line with what Moscow has traditionally seen since the annexation of Crimea in 2014 — sanctions upon sanctions.

In an interview with Barrons, Bessent said the U.S. response to the Ukraine war has been weak. Bessent dismissed the idea of making Ukraine a NATO member as “neocon stuff” but added that it should be immediately made an E.U. member and that the West should “fortify Poland like crazy.”

For Russia, this Cabinet position is key, because one of Putin’s goals in any negotiations on a Ukraine peace deal is lifting some of the sanctions imposed on the country since 2022, especially as the Russian economy shows signs of overheating and rampant inflation.

“Bessent’s position on sanctions, Russia and Ukraine is a good illustration of the different views that dominate the future Trump administration, which are not entirely favorable to Moscow,” said the independent business daily the Bell. “And it is further confirmation that if a good deal on Ukraine cannot be reached, there is a good chance that U.S. policy toward Russia will not soften, but harden, as eventually happened during Trump’s first presidency.”

Pro-Kremlin commentators noted that Bessent used to work for billionaire businessman George Soros, a central figure in Russia-promoted conspiracy theories that claim the businessman and his associates secretly control the U.S. government.



One report noted that John Ratcliffe, Trump’s pick to be director of the CIA, sees China as the chief U.S. adversary in the long run.



Some see Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida), the secretary of state pick, as a hawk whose Russia stance is more aggressive than Trump’s.



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SUNDAY OPINION

I’m done with my party’s purity tests

BY SETH MOULTON

Since Election Day, I’ve learned two things about the Democratic Party: The word police will continue to patrol no matter how badly we lose, and a growing number of us are finally ready to move beyond them to start winning again.

Two days after Donald Trump’s victory, I gave an example of how Democrats spend too much time trying not to offend anyone, even on issues where most Americans feel the same way. Speaking as a dad, I said I didn’t like the idea of my two girls one day competing against biological boys on a playing field. My main point, though, is what I said next: “As a Democrat, I’m supposed to be afraid to say that.”

The blowback, which was swift, included the chair of a local Democratic committee calling me a Nazi “cooperator” and about 200 people gathering in front of my office to protest a sentence. My unimpeachable record of standing up for the civil rights of all Americans, including the trans community, was irrelevant.

What has amazed me, though, is what’s happening behind the scenes. Countless Democrats have reached out, from across the party — to thank me. I’ve heard it

again and again, from union leaders to colleagues in the House and Senate; from top people from the Obama, Biden and Harris teams to local Democrats stopping me on the street; from fellow dads to many in the LGBTQ+ community: “Thank you for saying that!”

The question of whether to have reasonable restrictions on transgender women’s participation in women’s sports wasn’t their point — though most agree — just as it wasn’t mine. They were simply glad that a fellow Democrat would violate the moratorium on speaking our minds. Voters want elected officials to give voice to their concerns, not tell them what they should think.

Until not so long ago, we were the party of free speech. We welcomed real, rigorous debate when orthodox conservatives in the Republican Party were afraid of change. We raised the struggles of the working class to become national issues.

That’s how we delivered Social Security and Medicare when wealthy Americans already had good health care and retirement savings. That’s how we protected people with preexisting conditions under Obamacare, against staunch Republican opposition. And it’s how we expanded freedoms by allowing women to make

their own health-care decisions and everyone to marry whomever they love, changing the status quo.

In every case, we listened, we built trust, and we welcomed those who disagreed into our expanding tent — the definition of a majority party. Just 12 years ago, we even nominated a Democrat who was against same-sex marriage for president.

Independents and Republicans see what we do to fellow Democrats who disagree with the party line. Why would they think they’d have a prayer with us?

Often when Americans think differently, or raise concerns we don’t agree with, we go straight to denial. Two years ago, I asked a House colleague who wanted to lead our messaging strategy how we should address the southern border. “We should not talk about immigration!” I was told. Republicans are just “weaponizing” the issue, so, if we respond, we are “playing into their hands.” Another version: Trump is “just tapping into fear and resentment.”

But it turns out that voters knew better, and wanted answers. When 94 percent of Americans said they worried about the border crisis, Trump said he’d fix it.

Trump, for all his bluster and lies, sees and understands real fears. When Ameri-

cans worried about crime, he promised to support cops (even though his White House budget didn’t deliver). Some Democrats, meanwhile, called to “defund the police.” When voters said they were tired of violence, shoplifting and a growing sense of disorder in their communities, some of us held up national and historical (i.e., irrelevant) data to prove their feelings were wrong.

As grocery prices soared, the Biden administration told us not to worry because it was “transitory,” whatever that means. About two-thirds of Americans went on to say that inflation caused moderate or severe financial hardship in their lives. Trump made lowering inflation a cornerstone of his campaign, a key message regardless of what his policies will actually do.

When Democrats don’t engage honestly on real issues important to Americans, we give the impression that we either don’t understand or, worse yet, simply don’t care. According to one exit poll, the No. 1 reason swing voters chose Trump was “Harris is focused more on cultural issues like transgender issues rather than helping the middle class.”

Worse, when we remain silent in the face of GOP attacks rather than decisively

putting them to bed and moving on, as when the Harris campaign went weeks without even acknowledging Trump’s devastating anti-trans ad, not only do we lose elections, but these issues get defined and decided entirely on Republican terms. There’s no greater disservice to the people whose rights we claim to want to protect.

This should have been an easy election for Democrats. We lost the White House to a felon who has alienated many of the Republican faithful. Republicans are so dysfunctional that they couldn’t even elect a speaker of the House for three weeks last year, another first in modern history.

But the American people voted for Trump because he articulated a vision, however twisted and unconscionable, for solving their problems and addressing their fears.

The good news for Democrats is that we have a proud history of raising the challenges of working Americans and helping solve them. We didn’t do this by telling voters what to think or how to feel, but by listening when they told us.

The writer, a Democrat, represents Massachusetts’s 6th Congressional District in the House of Representatives.

DANA MILBANK

The outdated illusion of a working-class monolith

It’s that time again. Every election that ends in a Democratic defeat seems to produce the same breathless analysis: Democrats have lost the working class!

In 2004, we heard that “working-class Americans, once the core of the Democratic Party, are voting Republican.”

In 2016, we were told: “Democrats once represented the working class. Not anymore.”

And now, inevitably, headlines over the past three weeks have been revealing the same startling discovery all over again: “Democrats’ working-class exodus sets off reckoning within party.”

“Why Democrats lost their working-class coalition.”

“Is This the End of the White Working-Class Democrat?”

This is getting tedious.

It’s not that the conclusion is wrong as much as it is woefully outdated. Working-class voters, roughly defined as those who aren’t college-educated, haven’t been reliable Democratic voters since the New Deal coalition dissolved — decades ago. So why do political analysts keep concluding that the Democrats have, all of a sudden, lost the working man and woman?

I asked someone who has studied the voting attitudes of the working class as much as anyone alive: Michael Podhorzer, the former political director of the AFL-CIO and a prominent figure in progressive politics. He said political analysts have been claiming that Democrats have just lost working people “every election for the last 50 years,” based on the “idiotic assumption” that all workers without college degrees, or nearly two-thirds of the adult labor force, can be lumped together into a single category — “working class” — with the expectation that they have a shared identity as workers and will vote accordingly.

“The idea that working people would vote for Democrats goes back to the New Deal era, when being a worker was an actual identity that [Franklin D.] Roosevelt and the Democrats appealed to by saying that when corporations want to do bad things to you, we’re on your side,” Podhorzer noted. Back then, Democrats did get about 80 percent of the working-class vote, because they emphasized the class conflict. But “in the current two-party structure, where both parties are dominated by billionaires and corporations, there isn’t an actual place for working-class identity.”

Working people no longer vote their interests as “workers” but cast ballots for all kinds of different reasons. They shifted several points away from Democrats between 2020 and 2024 — but so did many different groups across the electorate, mostly because they were unhappy with the Biden administration’s performance on inflation.

The reductive analysis of working-class voters abandoning Democrats is particularly maddening because it misses what’s actually happening to those voters, which is a crisis much bigger than the temporary fortunes of a political party. This is less a Democratic problem than an American problem — but Democrats have a fresh chance to try to fix it.



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A worker descends from scaffolding outside the U.S. Capitol in October 2023.

tive bargaining, pay has stagnated and pensions have disappeared. Wealth inequality has soared, earnings have become less dependable, and most workers report that they feel stressed, unappreciated, disconnected and distrustful of their employers. They are surveilled on the job, sanctioned for expressing themselves and subjected to dehumanizing workplaces. “Here most of us are, toiling under the authority of communist dicta-

*America’s politics have become a depressing game of ping-pong, in which frustrated voters turn from one party to the other and then back again.*

tors, and we do not see the reality for what it is,” wrote University of Michigan philosophy professor Elizabeth Anderson. The financial collapse of 2008 and the coronavirus pandemic only deepened the insecurity and misery.

Voting patterns, not just this year’s but this century’s, reflect the discontent and instability. In nine of the past 10 federal elections, one party or the other has lost control of the White House, Senate or House. Voters, desperate for a fundamental change, punish the incumbent party and then, inevitably finding no relief, punish the other party two years later. Politics has become a depressing game of ping-pong, with no enduring wins.

“We’ve never had a period since at least the late 19th century where there have been so many knife’s-edge elections,” Podhorzer told me. “So, coming out of every election, Democrats assume all we need is fine tuning, because we barely lost. We have to get past thinking we’re going to message our way out of this

moment. It’s so much bigger than that. And it ignores the fact that, for all of the 21st century, we’ve been seeing that voters just want a different system, a more profound change.”

Even some on the right have begun to argue for a revival of labor unions and New Deal-style government intervention to undo the damage of the past half-century of neoliberalism, the era of the unfettered free market that began with President Ronald Reagan. The conservative writer Sohrab Ahmari argued in his 2023 book, “Tyranny, Inc.,” that the current “domination of working and middle-class people by the owners of capital, the asset-less by the asset-rich,” has “drained the vigor and substance out of democracy, facilitated massive upward transfers of wealth, and left ordinary people feeling isolated and powerless.”

In the short term, Democrats could change nothing and they’d still probably do well by default in the 2026 midterms as disenchanting voters once again punish the incumbent party. President-elect Donald Trump doesn’t have much of a popular mandate: The latest figures show he got below 50 percent of the popular vote, Harris lost by about 1.6 percentage points, and Democrats may have actually gained a seat or two in the House. And he’s already overreaching with outlandish nominations and announced plans to start a trade war with Canada, Mexico and China.

But in the long term, doing nothing would be a huge mistake — for the party and, more important, for the country. We are, in some ways, back to the extreme income inequality and unchecked corporate power over workers that gave rise to the modern labor movement in the 1930s and the New Deal’s government-regulated capitalism, which led America to three decades of broadly shared economic prosperity after World War II. What’s needed to relieve workers’ pain this time is no less ambitious.

Ahmari called for government to encourage “a labor market in which most sectors are unionized, while workers in

those few industries that resist unionization enjoy higher minimum wages.” And this conservative thinker waxed nostalgic for the New Dealers: “Those leaders left behind a political map for building a better economy and a more authentically free society. They guided us, above all, to workers’ countervailing power: the indispensable lever for improving the lot of the asset-less and for stabilizing economies otherwise prone to turbulence and speculative chaos. The supreme challenge today is to forge a similar left-right consensus.”

Of course, that won’t be happening anytime soon. Trump channels populist anger, but he directs it at migrants and foreigners instead of corporations. The billionaire president-elect has chosen a billionaire commerce secretary, a billionaire interior secretary and a billionaire education secretary, and he has tapped the world’s wealthiest man to run his government-efficiency task force. This oligarchy is planning to impose more of the same policies that caused workers’ problems in the first place: extending tax breaks for the rich and further rolling back business regulation, employment law and union rights.

As Bernie Sanders can attest, Democrats, too, have long resisted a return to their populist roots, going back to when President Bill Clinton signed NAFTA and his Democratic Leadership Council recruited corporate donors to fund the party. But this moment could be different. Gallup’s latest polling shows that approval of labor unions is at 70 percent, up from 48 percent 15 years ago, after the financial crash. Sixty-one percent say unions mostly help the economy, up from 39 percent in 2009. The favorable impression of unions has grown at the same time Americans’ confidence in most other institutions — business, church, the media, the presidency, Congress — has been going the other way.

Sen. Chris Murphy (D-Connecticut) issued a memo recently with polling from his home state showing that 82 percent of

people — including large majorities of Democrats, Republicans and independents — agree that one of the biggest problems facing the country is that corporations and economic elites hold too much power and government is doing too little about it. “Democrats have the opportunity to call Republicans on their bluff and prove to the American people that we are the ones on the side of the workers,” he wrote. “But that’s only possible if we have the courage to pick fights with powerful corporations and billionaires and fight against the status quo.”

That is a gigantic “if.”

The consumer advocate Ralph Nader, through his third-party presidential campaigns and his hectoring, has tried for years to push the Democrats toward a \$15 minimum wage, a return to the progressive tax system of the 1960s, a revival of private pensions and the National Labor Relations Board, a hike in Social Security benefits paid for by higher payroll taxes on the wealthy, and much more. But at this point, he told me, he has no optimism that the party can change itself: “They’ve drained it out of me.”

I understand the cynicism. For ages, Democratic leaders have tried to have it both ways, calling for marginal improvements to the tax code but shying away from anything that might repel the corporate interests that are also in their coalition. But, at some point, the worsening suffering of tens of millions of workers must persuade them to take the risk.

And — who knows? — maybe if Democrats take that risk, it will free them, and all of us, from the dreary cycle of the past two decades in which frustrated voters turn from one party to the other and then back again, never finding the change they are seeking. And then, for the first time in decades, maybe working people will again vote reliably Democratic, because Democrats will have restored their working-class identity.

Or maybe such an effort will fail. But isn’t it better to do the right thing for the country regardless of what it does to the party?



OPINION

# A peek inside the Cabinet

Six writers on the stories that define the people charged with leading the new Trump administration.

ON KRISTI L. NOEM

## One carefully chosen word

“This is what South Dakotans should do,” the governor said, emphasizing “should.”

I was perplexed. It was March 23, 2020, almost two weeks after the first covid-19 cases were reported in the state. Republican Gov. Kristi L. Noem was conducting a news conference about an executive order listing 20 things that “should” be done. People “should” engage in social distancing. Businesses “should” prevent customers from congregating in close quarters. Health-care facilities “should” postpone elective surgeries.

Noem used the word 13 times in her 12-minute news conference.

In those frightening early days of a pandemic, speculation and misinformation were rampant. Clear communication from the governor was paramount. Another baffled reporter who’d called in to the news conference asked Noem about her choice of words.

“Is that a legal requirement, or is that advice?”

“It’s telling them what they should do,” Noem replied.

I pressed her further. “To put the finest point possible on it, you said you’re ‘telling’ organizations, cities, etcetera, what to do, but it sounds like it’s still their choice?” I asked. “You’re not necessarily ordering something with the force of law?”

“I am telling them what they should be doing in this state,” Noem said.

At the time, I chalked this oddity up to the ramblings of an overwhelmed governor.

Noem’s ambiguity foisted difficult decisions on local officials. Some imposed their own legal restrictions on people and businesses, only to backtrack weeks or months later under a hail of protest from their loudest critics. All the while, Noem and her health advisers floated above the fray.

The governor eventually took her hands-off approach to the extreme of going maskless at a mask factory, while South Dakota was suffering one of the world’s worst covid-19 death rates. When criticism came, Noem combatively touted the state’s open and comparatively less-devastated economy.

As the pandemic wore on, Noem’s lack of clarity that day back in March 2020 proved to be a pivotal moment. Until then, she was relatively unknown nationally as a rural-state governor and former congresswoman.

By leaving her pandemic orders murky, she was eventually able to proclaim she never shut down her state. That attracted the attention of then-President Donald Trump, giving Noem the standing to invite him to a July 2020 fireworks show at Mount Rushmore. He accepted, and she nurtured the relationship all the way to a pick as secretary of homeland security in Trump’s second administration.

Now, I’m left wondering if Noem’s use of “should” was a bumbling error or a shrewd calculation.

— *Seth Tupper is the editor in chief of South Dakota Searchlight.*

ON JOHN RATCLIFFE

## Unseating the nonagenarian

Whatever his other achievements, CIA director-designee John Ratcliffe has the distinction of unseating the oldest person ever to serve in the U.S. House.

There’s no playbook for kicking a nonagenarian to the curb. And Ralph M. Hall, 91 at the time, was remarkably vigorous and beloved across East Texas. A lake under construction in the district is named after him. Four decades his junior, Ratcliffe challenged Hall in the 2014 GOP primary, promising “fresh energy” — and insisted that he wasn’t making age an issue.

The relentless attacks were always veiled just enough for deniability. For months I prodded Ratcliffe to acknowledge that calling for a “new generation of leadership” was a swipe at Hall’s age. He never broke.

A charter member of the Tea Party Caucus, Hall had a knack for staying in sync with his district that had deterred challengers for generations. He’d turned Republican at the tender age of 80. Taylor Budowich — then the executive director of Tea Party Express and soon to be deputy White House chief of staff — told me that no one was “sick of Ralph Hall,” describing how hard it was for Ratcliffe to thread the needle.

Ratcliffe’s highest elected office was mayor of Heath, a town of about 11,000 near Dallas, although he had also been U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Texas in 2007 and 2008.

Hall fell short in the primary, and Ratcliffe edged past him in a runoff, later catching Donald Trump’s eye with a fierce interrogation of special counsel Robert S. Mueller III.

Trump nominated him to be director of national intelligence in July 2019. But senators in both parties balked, given his utter lack of experience with any of the 18 agencies the DNI oversees. The nomination lasted just five days.

Trump tried again seven months later, after deeming Ratcliffe’s performance on his impeachment trial team Hollywood-worthy. This time he got a hearing, at which Ratcliffe assured senators that “my loyalty is to the Constitution and to the rule of law” and that he had no idea what “deep state” Trump kept talking about.

The 49-to-44 confirmation vote was tepid.

Ratcliffe kept a low profile as Trump tried to overturn the results of the 2020 election. It emerged only later that “he was hoping that we would concede,” according to Cassidy Hutchinson, a former aide to White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, who told the House Jan. 6 committee that Ratcliffe “felt that there could be dangerous repercussions in terms of precedent set for elections, for our democracy.”

Affable. Discreet. Knife fighter. All of it was there to see when Ratcliffe took down the oldest member of Congress ever without coming off like a jerk.

— *Todd J. Gillman, former Washington bureau chief for the Dallas Morning News, is a journalism professor at Arizona State University, where he directs the Cronkite News Washington Bureau.*

ON SUSIE WILES

## Songs to sell a tax hike

Upon choosing her to become the first female White House chief of staff, President-elect Donald

Trump called Susie Wiles “the most powerful woman in the world.” But before that, she was the most powerful woman in Jacksonville, Florida.

Wiles, who has aided campaigns in Florida for more than three decades, is known for quietly masterminding unlikely wins, a savant who understands messaging to the masses.

From 1995 to 2003, Wiles served as the first female chief of staff for a Jacksonville mayor. Her time working for John Delaney’s administration cemented her legacy as a master political strategist.

A signature achievement under Delaney was the 2000 Better Jacksonville Plan. The infrastructure initiative required a half-cent sales tax hike in exchange for a fierce revitalization of Jacksonville’s streets, railroads and public facilities.

Wiles’s expertise was key in getting the project funded with overwhelming voter approval.

When asked how Wiles brought the plan to life, Delaney told me that she had the smart idea of using familiar pop songs in campaign ads for the referendum.

Delaney credited the catchy tunes, along with Wiles’s other efforts, with sending his approval rating soaring into the 80s before the vote — up 20 percentage points from the campaign’s beginning.

After the referendum succeeded, Wiles quipped: “Hell, we should have proposed raising the sales tax by a full cent instead of half.”

Just as Wiles left an impact on the city, so she did in the state.

Wiles successfully guided two unlikely candidates to the governor’s mansion. The first was outsider Rick Scott; in 2010, he ran for governor with little experience and few political ties. Wiles helped Scott cinch the first of his many statewide wins.

“What Susie’s good at is organization. She’s good at getting a lot of people to volunteer,” Scott told me years ago.

Eight years later, in 2018, she worked her magic for Ron DeSantis.

The obscure congressman was on track to lose the gubernatorial race to former Tallahassee mayor Andrew Gillum until he enlisted Wiles to save his campaign.

By hitting Gillum on crime and his ties to leftist organizations, she pushed a candidate who was losing on Labor Day just over the edge to victory. DeSantis lauded her as “the best in the business.”

However, Wiles was purged from DeSantis’s inner circle soon after winning. Their relationship deteriorated when Wiles allegedly leaked a memo detailing DeSantis’s fundraising gambits. (Wiles denies leaking the document.)

But she got her paycheck in the long run. When DeSantis pulled the plug on his presidential campaign this year, she tweeted: “Bye, bye.”

Wiles rarely goes on record. But she understands the long game. In a world of outsize political personalities, she has been a subtle yet formidable force.

— *A.G. Gancarski, a politics reporter for the New York Post, is from Jacksonville, Florida.*

ON SEAN P. DUFFY

## The road from reality TV

The American public first met Sean P. Duffy on the MTV show “The Real World: Boston” in 1997. The next year, he competed on the network’s show “Road Rules: All Stars,” where he met his future wife and Fox News colleague, Rachel Campos. (Presumably, “Road Rules” is where he gathered the expertise to one day run the Transportation Department.)

But fleeting reality stardom wasn’t enough for Duffy, so he finished law school, moved home to Wisconsin, became a champion log roller and, eventually, a district attorney.

As has been evident from Trump’s Cabinet picks so far, Duffy had what Trump most seeks in a Cabinet appointee: loyalty and visibility. And Duffy has played both those roles to perfection.

When longtime Democratic congressman David R. Obey retired in 2010, Duffy ran for the seat, which was rapidly trending Republican. As a young congressman, he mirrored the traditional conservatism of Wisconsin’s other rising star in the House of Representatives, future speaker Paul D. Ryan. But when Trump split the party in half in 2016, the two

men found themselves on different sides of the divide. Duffy’s chosen path led him all the way to a Cabinet nomination.

Ryan, ever the Republican team player, did begrudgingly endorse Trump in 2016. Later, after leaving Congress, he would become a sharp Trump critic.

Meanwhile, Duffy took the opposite route. He had initially endorsed Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida) for the 2016 GOP nomination, but, citing the desires of his district and Rubio’s exit from the race, he became an enthusiastic Trump backer. Duffy and Campos eventually became featured speakers at Trump’s nominating convention in Cleveland. After the famed “Access Hollywood” tape, Ryan said he was “sickened” by Trump’s comments and would not campaign with him. But Duffy never wavered in his support of the future president.

In 2019, Duffy abruptly resigned from Congress to spend more time with his family after his ninth child was born with a heart defect and Down syndrome. But he quickly took a job as an on-air personality with Fox News, where he became a reliable Trump defender, although he rebuffed Trump’s attempts to get him to run for Wisconsin governor in 2019.

If his nomination goes through, Duffy is set to inherit the Transportation Department’s portfolio of over \$145 billion in spending, plus the responsibility of setting nationwide safety standards. Despite his winding career, Duffy has little experience to qualify him for the job. But he seems to exemplify the loyalties that count in Trump’s eyes.

— *Christian Schneider, a former Milwaukee Journal Sentinel columnist, now writes the Anti-Knowledge newsletter.*

ON TOM HOMAN

## Experience at the border

Tom Homan, President-elect Donald Trump’s future “border czar,” who will oversee what both have pledged will be the largest deportation effort in U.S. history, doesn’t mince words and doesn’t back down from a fight.

“My gang’s bigger than your gang, and we’re going to take you out,” Homan warned suspected migrant members of gangs in the United States during a recent podcast interview with Trump’s eldest son. He has promised “shock and awe” in carrying out Trump’s pledge to find, arrest and deport millions of foreigners living in the United States without permission.

He knows what he’s doing — and what it will take to carry out Trump’s promised mass deportations. Unlike many other top policy advisers, Homan has walked the beat as a U.S. Border Patrol agent and ran the agency responsible for deporting unauthorized immigrants. Anyone hoping the hard-line talk is more bluster than not should temper their expectations.

In fact, Homan spent roughly 34 years as a federal immigration official. As a career civil servant, he rose through the ranks to become the top deportation officer under the Obama administration, helped deport a record number of foreigners and ramped up migrant arrests during the first Trump administration.

He also proposed and championed the controversial and short-lived separation policy at the southwestern border in which thousands of children were separated from their parents, who were often deported without knowing where their children were.

As a Fox News contributor, he has been a vocal supporter of Trump’s hard-line immigration policies. He railed against sanctuary cities, where migrants have been generally welcomed without fear of arrest if their only offense is living in the United States without permission.

In a recent interview with Newsmax, Homan cautioned officials in those cities that they “don’t have to help us, but they need to get the hell out of the way cuz we’re comin’, we’re gonna do it. Which means if I gotta send twice as many resources to that sanctuary city, twice as many agents, that’s exactly what I’m going to do.”

The plan will take time, he has conceded. And money.

ICE agents generally aren’t armed with criminal

warrants or legal permission to enter homes, so they must rely on finding suspected deportable immigrants outside or at work. And they’ll have to secure deportation orders from federal immigration judges and permission to fly migrants home or to a third country. So migrants are likely to be detained for days or even weeks.

ICE currently has a \$3.4 billion budget to detain 41,500 people at a time. The Department of Homeland Security estimates about 11 million people are in the country illegally.

Nonetheless, Homan has made clear that the president’s directives will be carried out to whatever degree he can. And he’s ready for a fight with whoever tries to get in his way.

— *Alicia A. Caldwell previously reported for the Wall Street Journal and the Associated Press, where she spent nearly 20 years covering immigration and the U.S. border with Mexico.*

ON DOUGLAS A. COLLINS

## Military minister by night

Before he served as a congressman from Georgia’s 9th District, Douglas A. Collins, President-elect Donald Trump’s pick for secretary of veterans affairs, served in the Iraq War. His duties overseas could indicate how he plans to captain the second-largest Cabinet department.

In the mid-1990s, Collins spent two years in the U.S. Navy Reserve at chaplain school, training as a minister to Navy personnel and recruits in Atlanta. He left the service to pursue divinity and law degrees but rejoined as an Air Force Reserve chaplain after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Collins was deployed to Balad Air Base, an hour north of Baghdad, in September 2008. There, he worked the night shift on the flight line, ministering to Protestants and providing confidential counseling to airmen and officers of all creeds.

Rabbi Avraham “Andrew” Cohen, the deployment’s day-shift flight line chaplain, said the job required patience, empathy and managerial skills in a hectic environment — skills he sees as valuable for a VA secretary.

“You take care of, you visit everybody, and you’re doing it every day. ... In any organization, nobody cares what you think, unless they think you care. And I think Doug’s certainly a caring pastor and ... a caring, gentle administrator,” Cohen said.

During that period, Cohen sensed that the U.S. government had entered its “mopping up phase” of the war. But for him and Collins, the work tempo was anything but slow.

“There were planes taking off and landing every three minutes — at the time, it was the busiest airfield in the world,” Cohen said. “What we really did was just visit folks, seeing how they were doing.”

On Capitol Hill, Collins supported legislation to expand VA’s funding for private medical treatment — a stand that many saw as the privatization of VA health care but which Collins said was necessary for veterans facing long wait times for treatment or long commutes to a care facility.

“Why does a veteran have to drive 80 miles to see a doctor when they already have trouble seeing to start with?” he posted on the social media platform X on Veterans Day.

It shouldn’t come as a surprise that he was tapped by Trump — Collins has long been a MAGA loyalist. He defended the former president during his first impeachment proceedings, and throughout his eight years in Congress, he voted in lockstep with Trump’s priorities with just two exceptions: lifting sanctions on three Russian companies and withdrawing U.S. troops from Syria.

But despite his near-perfect MAGA record, said retired Air Force Col. Heath Nuckolls, Collins’s commanding officer at the 94th Airlift Wing in Georgia, Collins is his own man.

“Being a veteran himself, he will know the issues and he has experience dealing with different agencies, having been in Congress. I think he’ll be pretty effective at VA,” Nuckolls said.

— *Patricia Kime, a reporter for Military.com, covers military and veterans’ issues.*



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OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

How the world should brace for Trump 2.0

GLOBAL LEADERS seeking clarity on how President-elect Donald Trump intends to engage with the world have received mixed messages. After running an “America First” campaign, he tapped Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida) to be secretary of state and Rep. Michael Waltz (R-Florida) as his national security adviser. Neither is quite a Trumpian isolationist.

All the same, Mr. Trump’s first term showed that he doesn’t always take good advice. On Monday, he threatened 25 percent tariffs on Canada and Mexico and an additional 10 percent tariff on China, proposals that would punish the world economy and slam American consumers. The world should prepare for a future with a diminished American global leadership role, more U.S. clashes with allies as well as adversaries over trade issues, heightened unpredictability and a more transactional mode of American policymaking. The goal — of U.S. policymakers around Mr. Trump, Republicans who understand the stakes and foreign leaders seeking to manage their relationship with the United States — needs to be limiting the damage of this realignment.

The shift is likely to be felt most disruptively in Europe. The experience of Mr. Trump’s first term had already spurred European leaders to talk about investing more in their own collective security. Now that Mr. Trump’s brand of neo-isolationism seems a

lasting feature of U.S. policy, not a temporary aberration, Europeans would be wise to start contemplating a security alliance less dependent on America at its core.

Many leaders in Europe and NATO had already been discussing ways to achieve “strategic autonomy” — that is, ending their reliance on the United States for security. The majority of NATO’s 32 members have significantly increased their defense spending since 2022, so now only a few nations are failing to meet the target of 2 percent of gross domestic product. Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine also brought the threat of a revanchist Russia to NATO’s doorstep. But mostly, the talk of European “security autonomy” has remained just talk. Mr. Trump’s re-ascendance should focus minds and bring a new sense of urgency to building European self-sufficiency and bolstering Ukraine.

Mr. Trump has voiced skepticism about continued U.S. financing for Ukraine’s defensive war against Russia and has pledged to end the conflict swiftly, which most take to mean granting territorial concessions to Russia. If Mr. Trump stops further assistance to Kyiv, the Europeans would struggle to plug the gap, with their budgets already stretched and their weapons stockpiles low. In his remaining weeks in office, President Joe Biden should ship as much military hardware as possible to Ukraine.

Outside Europe, tensions with Iran are likely to

increase under Mr. Trump, particularly after reports that the Tehran regime hatched a plot to assassinate the former president. Mr. Trump is said to be considering a more aggressive enforcement of sanctions against Iran, aimed particularly at disrupting Iran’s oil sales revenue. Mr. Trump is also likely to place few restraints on Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who considers Iran

Many leaders in Europe and NATO had already been discussing ways to end their reliance on the United States for security.

Israel’s principal enemy and Iran’s nuclear program an existential threat. With Iran’s complex web of allies and enemies in the Middle East, such moves could promote regional solidarity, instability or a mix of both.

Confrontation with China is also likely to ratchet up in Mr. Trump’s second term, with the president-elect having proposed during his campaign tariffs of up to 60 percent on Chinese goods. Mr. Trump might

simply be taking a tough stance to strengthen the U.S. position in trade talks. His advisers, U.S. allies and, indeed, China’s leaders themselves should encourage Mr. Trump, to the extent they can, to deal with Beijing, not to wage an economic war that would hurt American consumers and exporters.

At the same time, Taiwan might be questioning America’s commitment to help provide for the island’s defense in the event of an invasion by mainland China. Mr. Trump has accused Taiwan of “stealing” America’s computer chip industry and threatened to impose tariffs on Taiwan-made chips. Mr. Trump’s China-skeptical advisers should recognize the value of deepening ties to countries in the region seeking to contain Beijing.

Mr. Biden’s stated foreign policy priority of democracy promotion will also probably be jettisoned by Mr. Trump, who prefers transactional dealings with foreign leaders. Mr. Biden vacillated on democracy promotion, too often bowing to broader geopolitical concerns. But even when the United States wavered, it was still seen as a beacon of hope for those fighting for democracy around the world. Voices such as Mr. Rubio’s should try to dissuade Mr. Trump from entirely extinguishing that beacon.

In Mr. Trump’s first term, some world leaders and top advisers did a better job than others at managing him. For the sake of global prosperity, all need to study up quickly.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

There’s no one American dream house, no single American Dream

In the Oct. 27 Opinion essay, “The new American Dream should be a townhouse,” we asked readers how their idea of a “dream house” has changed. Here are some of those responses.

When I bought my first house, it was a small ranch home with a small yard on a small street. I dreamed of a large home with a big yard, so I pursued that vision.

One day, I woke to find myself in a 5,500-square-foot monstrosity that had several rooms my husband, son and I rarely used. The bubble burst. My vision cleared.

My new dream house is much smaller. The rooms can fit a king bed if desired but not much more. It has a covered porch across the front and a small backyard. In the neighborhood, homes are close together, and there are townhouses. I know my neighbors, and people watch out for one another. There are restaurants and shops an easy walk away.

I now have time to do what I like since my house doesn’t require much upkeep. Most afternoons, you’ll find me and my dog on the front porch after one of our walks. Turns out I never really wanted that mansion after all.

Kyle Marshall, Milton, Georgia

My husband and I are in our early 70s. We would like to downsize from our suburban home, but we cannot find an affordable version of what we want: one story, small yard, maintenance-free, low homeowners association fees, and walking distance to shops, stores, medical clinics, schools and libraries. We don’t care about golf courses, but parks and trails would be nice.

I think developers are missing a big segment of homeowners: semiretired people who own their home or have low mortgage expenses. We want to move, but we cannot afford it. Our real estate agent daughter says she could sell our home easily and at a profit. It still would not be enough. Affordable fourplexes, duplexes or one-story townhouses (are there such things?) would be great options, but HOA fees around here are ridiculous.

My view of the American Dream hasn’t changed, but my view of how the American Dream meets our needs has changed as we’ve aged.

Jo Thornley Cox, Gladstone, Missouri

I would honestly love to live in a townhouse. After graduating from college, I lived in a studio apartment in Spain for a year, and I fell in love with the lifestyle. I didn’t need a car and could walk wherever I needed: Everything was accessible within 20 minutes.

Coming back home to the Midwest made me realize how little living space I actually needed, and how little I wanted a yard. I was happy to have a patio. I used to want a house in the suburbs because that’s what I grew up thinking I was supposed to want.

Watching my friends and family buy houses and renovate their homes made me realize how much maintenance and work are involved. I don’t want that.

Hannah Whitney, Overland Park, Kansas

Two words: no stairs. Listen, mobility challenges will come for all of us. I like townhouses and walkable neighborhoods, but to make them dream-worthy, you need: awesome sound insulation, great fire suppression, wheelchair accessibility, windows that open inward and an elevator. These specs are not affordable. Somehow, we have to put the cost of safe and accessible higher-density housing within reach.

What’s my dream home? Probably the open-air tree houses in Lothlórien from “The Lord of the



Rings.” In the real world? A little ranch house on a small lot is kind of the affordable solution. It has the obvious downsides, but not as many as a townhouse.

Mary Ellen Meurer, Magnolia, Texas

I grew up in Dallas, where the one-story ranch house on a large lot has been the ideal since the city started growing in the 1950s. We raised our children in such a neighborhood, entirely dependent on our cars to get anywhere.

As empty nesters, we moved eight years ago to a townhouse in the Uptown neighborhood just north of downtown Dallas, one of the most densely populated neighborhoods in the city. Our Walk Score jumped from 20 to 96. I can do most of my daily errands on foot, via public transit or with short trips in my electric vehicle. I love walkable urbanism and have never regretted the move.

But the resistance to change persists in North Dallas, where houses built in the ’60s are being replaced with much larger single-family homes. Traffic congestion is increasing, public transit use is low, and resistance to changes such as allowing accessory dwelling units, duplexes or denser development is high.

Ann Drumm, Dallas

As a senior citizen desiring to age in place, I would like to live in a safe, walkable cottage

community. Single-level, a little space between units, tiny yard, two bedrooms, two baths, 900 to 1,400 square feet. I personally need the space between units because I play the fiddle and need to be able to host jam sessions without bothering my neighbors. A shared wall would not work.

The townhouses going up in Seattle are often three stories with steep stairs, including kitchens and even laundry on the upper levels. These do not take seniors into account.

There should be incentives for developers to build accessible cottage communities for seniors. This is one of the reasons we hang on to our single-family homes. Also, the federal government should reinstate the tax law that allows you to purchase a primary residence of equivalent value without paying capital gains on the sale of your home.

If you live in a home for 30 years and increase its value with your own sweat equity, you shouldn’t have to lose your gains and move to something of lesser quality.

Alex Rust, Seattle

My “dream house” isn’t in The Post’s essay, and just like all of the different types of housing it mentions, mine has its pluses and minuses.

We live a few miles outside the village limits in a cozy and intentionally energy-efficient single-family home in Upstate New York. It’s not my “dream house,” but communal living doesn’t do it

for me. We have a lot of land. I have a reverence for it, for the flora and fauna.

We raise, grow, hunt and forage most of what graces our dinner table.

I hope to build my final dream residence largely by myself. I’ll combine all of the best features that I’ve seen in my travels over many years of working abroad.

The goal is to create an off-the-grid, super-energy-efficient, comfortable and secure nest for my wife and me. I want to leave it to our children, who share our love for this simple, nearly self-sufficient lifestyle.

I have plenty of cousins who live in homes like the ones in The Post’s essay, and although they would never give up their lifestyle to trade places with me, they do enjoy visiting. They certainly look at our food chain here as a big plus, and our animals seem to hold their children’s attention long enough to put down their iPhones for a while.

George Ruggiero, Whitney Point, New York

My husband and I owned a 100-year-old home in Queens for 10 years. It was a charming California bungalow that had 10-foot ceilings and a balcony in the living room. We were just kids starting out.

Less than a year after moving in, we had to replace the Spanish tile roof. I began to think we were in over our heads. Then we had two years of incredible snowfalls. Shoveling our 100-foot driveway was the last straw.

Enter the concept of townhouse condos. We have happily lived in townhouses ever since — first in Douglaston, Queens, then later in East Moriches on Long Island. We now own two — one on top of the other so my elderly parents can live close.

The joy of never having to shovel snow or mow the lawn is a dream come true for me. Yes, we have maintenance expenses, but someone else is doing all the research, managing the work and handling the details.

We’ve met wonderful people in our condo community; they and their families are special to us. We don’t live in one another’s pockets, and we don’t coffee klatch, but we all share a common commitment to being a good neighbor: helping where possible and minding our own business.

Enes Carnesecca, Garden City, New York

I spent my early years in a large, single-family suburban home, the crown jewel of my immigrant parents’ American Dream. I have fond memories of playing and raking leaves in the big backyard. Then my parents divorced, and my mother and I moved to a smaller townhouse.

I eventually came to appreciate the house’s more manageable size.

When I moved to the city for college and work, I lived in even smaller apartments. I fell in love with the lively, walkable urban life and the freedom of not having to worry about a car or a long commute.

The people around me make it feel like I’m part of something bigger than the walls of my home.

Alicia Jen, Philadelphia

**Guest opinion submissions**

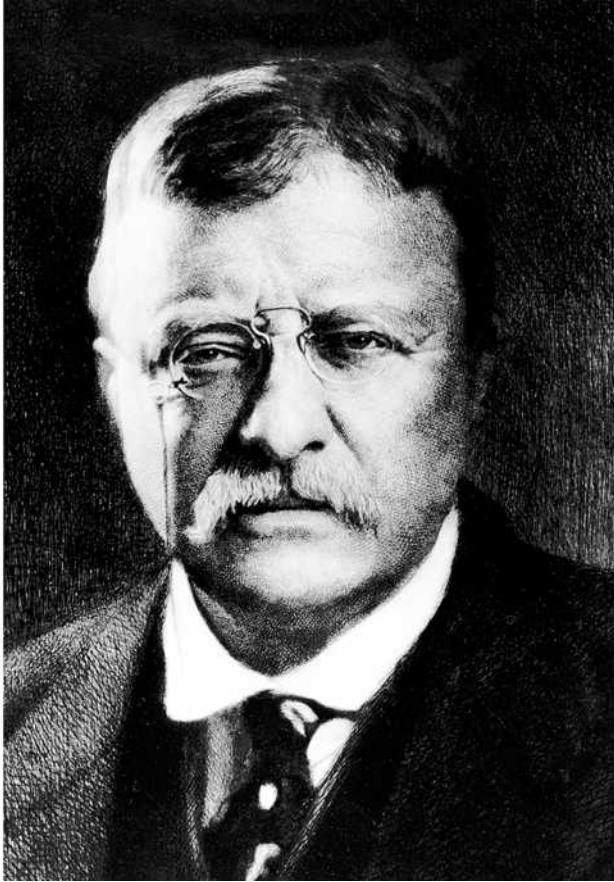
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OPINION



GETTY IMAGES/AP/REUTERS

From left to right: Vivek Ramaswamy, Theodore Roosevelt and Elon Musk.

DAVID IGNATIUS

The Regressivists come to Washington

As Theodore Roosevelt was launching his crusade to reform a stagnant government and corrupt business elite in the 1890s, he made it a test of national strength: “Is America a weakling, to shrink from the work of the great world-powers? No. The young giant of the West ... looks into the future with eager eyes and rejoices as a strong man to run a race.”

Roosevelt’s Progressive movement rescued Gilded Age America from a predicament a bit like what the country faces today. Freewheeling capitalism in the 1890s had created gross inequality, rising anger among workers and a swamp of political corruption. Though Roosevelt was a wealthy Republican, he admonished a friend, “I do not believe it is wise or safe for us as a party to take refuge in mere negation and to say that there are no evils to be corrected.” He demanded change.

A recent Rand study argued that Roosevelt’s reform movement was a case study in how “anticipatory national renewal” can avert decline. “That is precisely the challenge that faces the United States” now, the study argued, when the country’s “competitive position is threatened both from within ... and outside.” People across America agree something is wrong, and this year, voting for Donald Trump was a way for millions of Americans to register their discontent.

The strongest message on Election Day 2024 was that American voters are fed up with the status quo. Exit polls found that 73 percent of voters were “dissatisfied” or “angry” when asked about their “feeling about the way things are going in the U.S.,” including 35 percent of Democratic voters. President-elect Trump narrowly won the popular vote, but there was an overwhelming bipartisan majority for change.

Yearning for change is one of the engines of American life. It’s what brought many of our families to this country. It powers the relentless innovation of our economy. It’s the quality that people overseas still envy most about the United States, even as they despair at some of the ways we waste our political and economic bounty. Now, like it or not, we’re at one of those American inflection points where the hunger for movement has overwhelmed inertia — and brought a surprisingly strong election result.

My big worry is that many Trump voters want to move the country backward rather than forward. Exit polls found that 67 percent of them thought America’s best days were “in the past,” whereas 58 percent of Harris voters thought they were “in the future.” Rather than Progressive politics, Trump’s movement represents what might be called *Regressivism*. Or, as his slogan puts it: “Make America Great Again.”

Trump’s campaign had a dark side. “Revenge and retribution” are the opposite of the hopeful qualities embodied by two previous Republican reformers, Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan. If this payback agenda overwhelms Trump’s other goals, it could plunge the United States toward catastrophe.

But Trump also had positive campaign themes. He argued that an interventionist foreign policy had created too many wars and made the world too

dangerous. And he criticized a global trading system that has cost too many American jobs. The message could be summed up in a simple phrase: “peace and prosperity.” I’d disagree with many of his critiques, but any sensible person would wish Trump success on those goals.

What’s Trump’s pathway to change? Reading the government-reform manifesto published by Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy in the Wall Street Journal, a big enemy is “unelected bureaucrats” in the federal government. I was reminded of Roosevelt’s language as he attacked government corruption and machine politics early in his political career.

TR began his political ascendancy by demanding reform of a bloated civil service. As Edmund Morris writes in his masterful biography, “The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt,” Roosevelt’s goal was to replace the patronage system with equal opportunity, merit-based appointments and a purge of political bias.

*If Donald Trump’s ‘revenge and retribution’ agenda overwhelms his other goals, it could plunge the United States toward catastrophe.*

One target of TR’s rage was the corrupt New York police establishment. “From top to bottom, the New York police was utterly demoralized ... venality and blackmail went hand-in-hand with the basest forms of low ward politics ... the policeman, the ward politician, the liquor seller, and the criminal alternately preyed on one another and helped one another to prey on the general public.”

What targets will Musk and Ramaswamy choose as they seek to transform government in the 2020s? Their topline sounds reasonable enough. “The entrenched and ever-growing bureaucracy represents an existential threat to our republic, and politicians have abetted it for too long,” they write. Certainly, that’s true of the Pentagon, whose acquisition procedures are so cumbersome that they waste much of our swollen defense budget. And in many other agencies, a demoralized federal bureaucracy, saddled with outmoded technology, hobbles along as it tries to do the public’s business.

If you doubt the case for reform, go back 31 years and read Vice President Al Gore’s preface to his 1993 “National Performance Review.” He proposed “a government that works for people, cleared of useless bureaucracy and waste and freed from red tape and senseless rules.” The problem is structural, Gore wrote. “Washington is filled with organizations designed for an environment that no longer exists — bureaucracies so big and wasteful they can no longer serve the American people.”

The civil service rules must be changed, Gore

insisted. “Employees have virtual lifetime tenure, regardless of their performance. Success offers few rewards; failure, few penalties. And customers are captive; they can’t walk away.” Musk and Ramaswamy make similar arguments, if less elegantly.

The truth is that the federal government does need an overhaul, now as in the 1990s, or the 1890s. But the details matter. Will Trump and his team really have the guts to challenge the Pentagon budget and its massive misspending for legacy weapons systems? Will they prune special tax breaks for big companies and the wealthy, and put the interests of working people first? Or will they chase the perennial bogey-men of waste, fraud and abuse?

What frightens me about Trump’s Regressivism is that it seems likely to hurt those in American life who are most vulnerable. Trump’s big budget cuts will probably be in the civilian departments that provide social services, consumer protections, regulations that protect the little guy. TR truly was a “trustbuster,” taking on the most powerful economic interests and pushing them toward both greater efficiency and social justice. Trump, I fear, will continue to protect the privileges and power of the wealthy elite that supports him.

What will get axed in the Regressive agenda? A good guide is a list compiled by economist Robert Greenstein of the Brookings Institution of programs Trump tried to cut during his first term. He proposed slashing the food stamp program by \$200 billion, or 25 to 30 percent, over 10 years. He wanted to cut the Affordable Care Act, Medicaid and children’s health insurance by \$750 billion to \$1 trillion over 10 years. He wanted to chop housing and rental assistance, and cash grants for needy families or children with disabilities.

The list goes on, but you get the point. For all Trump’s talk about appealing to the forgotten middle class, his programs have focused on dismantling social programs, cutting taxes for wealthy people — and gutting the part of the budget that isn’t devoted to sacred-cow defense spending. Critics sometimes describe Trump as a person who lacks empathy for others. His supposed “reform” agenda may turn that characteristic into a guiding principle of national policy.

When Teddy Roosevelt, as a police commissioner in New York City, began to craft his movement for change, he used to make surprise “night patrols” to see how government power was used and abused. “These midnight rambles are great fun,” he wrote. “My whole work brings me in contact with every class of people in New York. ... I get a glimpse of the real life of the swarming millions.” Roosevelt’s genius lay in that connection with real people.

We’re now beginning a new era of change — led by Trump but really demanded by the public. The question is whether it will go backward or forward, toward revenge or revitalization. Trump will be our nation’s president. But every citizen must struggle to make this transformation constructive for the country.

GEORGE F. WILL

What is the Federal Reserve for, exactly?

With a recession deepening and the 1982 midterm elections approaching, Federal Reserve Chair Paul Volcker was summoned to the Oval Office, where Ronald Reagan was sitting with his chief of staff, James Baker. When Baker said Reagan wanted to give Volcker an “order” about interest rates, the 6-foot-7 central banker immediately stalked silently from the room. He did not take orders.

Donald Trump is determined to break institutions to the presidential saddle, so people wonder: Could he fire the head of the Fed? (Probably not. Besides, Chair Jerome H. Powell’s term expires in May 2026.) More interesting questions are: What is the Fed for? And is its “independence” a license for mission creep?

John H. Cochrane and Amit Seru of the Hoover Institution think the hyper-active Fed has become too ambitious in its interventions in the economy and social policy. Their proposal is the title of their essay “Ending Bailouts, At Last,” in the Journal of Law, Economics and Policy.

The problematic behavior is a century old and bipartisan: When large financial institutions are in danger of failing, government bails them out by bailing out their creditors. The 1907 financial crisis led in 1913 to the Federal Reserve Act establishing the Fed, which did not prevent the 1933 bank collapse. This led to deposit insurance and many regulations, which did not prevent Continental Illinois Bank’s 1984 failure, the savings and loan crisis of the 1980s, and many other bumps on the road to 2008.

“Never again, we say, again and again,” wrote Cochrane and Seru. Bailouts multiply, larger each time, spreading to highly leveraged industrial companies, as in the auto bailout of 2009. “Too leveraged to fail,” they wrote, “might be the summary of our new regime.” Too leveraged is a consequence of interest rates too low for too long, combined with confidence that the bailout culture is forever and unlimited.

During the pandemic, the market for Treasury bonds became fragile, so the Fed lent bond dealers money to buy the bonds, “then turned around and bought the Treasuries from the dealers a few days later.” Cochrane and Seru wrote that the Fed almost has an implicit policy of buying “whatever quantity” necessary to prop up corporate bond prices.

They noted that the Biden administration’s “paycheck protection” program made “forgivable loans” — Washington-speak for gifts — “to small businesses with 500 or fewer employees to cover their business costs, including mortgage interests, rent, utilities, and up to 8 weeks’ payroll costs.” It is one thing for the accountable political institutions to do this, quite another for the Fed to lend “on lenient terms to the real economy, not just the financial sector.”

Throughout the economy, Cochrane and Seru wrote, leverage has been rewarded: “If you saved and bought a house with cash, if you saved and went to a cheaper college rather than take out a big student loan, or if you repaid that loan promptly, you did not get money.” In today’s permanent central-bank-run credit system, “Borrow. Borrow especially if you are big or part of a big and politically influential class of borrowers. As with student loans, borrow from the government.” You might not have to pay it back.

When Silicon Valley Bank accepted many large, uninsured deposits, then got in trouble, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation — the government — guaranteed all deposits. So now, wrote Cochrane and Seru, “effectively markets expect all deposits of any size to be guaranteed going forward, at least during any newsworthy event.”

The Congressional Budget Office projects budget deficits of 5 to 8 percent of gross domestic product forever. And this, Cochrane and Seru correctly believe, is too unrealistic. CBO assumes no crises, recessions, wars, pandemics or — most laughably — spending increases. But even this optimistic debt path “simply cannot happen.”

“Everything is finite, including the U.S. government’s ability to borrow real resources in a crisis,” wrote the authors. Student loans, mortgage and rent forbearance — “it seems impossible for our democratic government to lend money to its citizens and demand repayment, especially in bad times.” And bad times are when money might be tight for the government.

“We have,” Cochrane and Seru wrote, “once in a century crises every 10 years these days.” “Crisis” has come to mean “the possibility that someone, somewhere might lose money.” And “contagion” now denotes a vague fear that “any ripple anywhere might bring down the financial system.”

Societies get what they incentivize. Moral hazards — incentives for perverse, risky behaviors — are now sown throughout American life. Cumulatively, they might break the government before Trump’s eccentric Cabinet nominees can.

ALEXANDRA PETRI

Make Thanksgiving Efficient Again

Wow! Where to begin!

Elon Musk here. You might know me from the Department of Government Efficiency, a.k.a. DOGE (get it?), or from the fact that you are forced to think about me every day whether you want to or not. That’s peak efficiency, when people are thinking about me and working to my benefit.

I can’t wait to start doing to the federal government what I have already done to Twitter: removing all the parts that made it responsive to users and replacing them with DOGE memes, tumbleweeds and a vague air of menace.

As a fun warm-up for my work on the government, I thought I’d start by tackling Thanksgiving. I’m a disrupter at heart. Whenever I see anything functioning as intended, a little something in me dies.

So Thanksgiving makes me seethe. All I see are inefficiencies everywhere.

First, it doesn’t need to be in person. Thanksgiving should be mostly VR. Imagine if instead of sitting at a dining table with your relatives, you were fighting a virtual minotaur in the comfort and isola-

tion of your home! Imagine if instead of eating lovingly prepared green beans and mashed potatoes in the company of human beings, you were eating a dense, flavorless nutrition pellet while sitting next to an animated AI rendering of the Mona Lisa! Much better.

By eliminating the in-person and food elements of Thanksgiving, we can maximize the value of the holiday: increasing everyone’s time for posting, where it can build value for me, Elon Musk!

Next, I see there is an older woman cooking a dead bird. What?? This is not even her job. Her job is ... retired lawyer? Why is she cooking you a bird? So inefficient. Women who have received workforce training should be doing more productive things, like incubating more children for Elon Musk, or posting on X to create value for Elon Musk.

This bird thing is such a bad allocation of resources. Obviously, as with Twitter, my first thought: Get rid of the bird. Replace it with a big X. Instead of Turkey Day, try calling this X-Day! Already feels much more cyber.

Next question: What is going on with all these cousins? I see many of these

celebrations include at least three cousins, some even more than that? This number just seems too high. It’s also unclear to me what function a “cousin” performs, if any. Most of them are just sitting around watching football. One of them claims to have “set the table” (a made-up-sounding job).

I would slash the cousin count by at least 80 percent. The remaining cousins should busy themselves arranging nutritional pellets into an X, and spend the rest of the time making memes about how cool I (Elon Musk) am.

Or, if you want to have cousins, pay a cousin subscription fee of just \$63.99 a month to me, Elon Musk, and I will let you keep your preexisting cousins, although they will all be required to install Neuralink implants. Relax; the monkeys’ bad experience with them was probably anomalous and is nothing to worry about!

I’m also seeing a lot of older relatives at these gatherings. We should go through and eliminate everyone whose Social Security number ends in an odd number, as my colleague Vivek has suggested. This will free up chairs that people can sit in to consume pellets and post. When I think

about the holidays, those are the first two things that come to mind. That’s why I’m spending mine with Donald Trump. Efficiency.

Many people at Thanksgiving complain about having to talk about politics with their relatives. They’re right. That’s a bad use of time. Instead, try posting about politics on X! This way, you can receive personal insults, threats and dangerous misinformation from all around the world, rather than just your uncles. Also, it creates value for me, Elon Musk!

Another thing missing from Thanksgiving: danger and mechanical failures. Which brings me to travel.

I’ve noticed a lot of you are flying, taking trains or driving to visit relatives. This whole process should involve more Teslas — or better yet, Cybertrucks. If you aren’t sealed in a metal box that has been recalled six times this year, are you really traveling? Ideally, though, instead of getting out of the Cybertruck to enter your relatives’ house, you should just stay inside it, looking cool! Make the one remaining cousin bring your pellets out to you in the truck.

Happy X-Day to All!



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**Nneka Ogumike** WNBA Champion & President, WNBP  
**Chiney Ogumike** ESPN Host & Analyst and 2x WNBA All-Star

**Third Row:**

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**Emily Oster** Founder & CEO, ParentData

**Bottom Row:**

**Rep. María Elvira Salazar** (R-Fla.)  
**Negina Khalili** Attorney & Human Rights Activist  
**Tina Brown** Editor & Author

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**Claire Casey**  
President, AARP Foundation



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# BOOK WORLD

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2024 · SECTION B

EZ EE



MICHAEL GOTTSCHALK/PHOTOTHEK/GETTY IMAGES

## ANGELA MERKEL HAS FEW REGRETS

Germany’s former leader spends much of her memoir defending her legacy

Angela Merkel’s long-anticipated memoir, “Freedom,” already translated into 30 languages, could not be timed more perfectly. The current German government, under Chancellor Olaf Scholz — whose three-year reign has been characterized by two consecutive years of economic recession, soaring energy prices and failed investments in the country’s military — collapsed a day after Donald Trump’s reelection. A July poll from YouGov found that 61 percent of Germans believe that the country has deteriorated since Merkel left office near the end of 2021. During Trump’s first term, Merkel was hailed by many as the rightful leader of the free world. Now, there is no one to call in Berlin. By all accounts, her legacy should appear stronger than ever.

Instead, her reputation has taken a serious hit since Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Inertia and mistakes, rather than stability and prosperity, now seem to mark her 16-year tenure as chancellor. She deepened Germany’s economic dependency on China and its energy dependency on Russia while abandoning nuclear

BY LIANA FIX

Angela Merkel served as Germany’s chancellor from 2005 to 2021. Hailed at the time for her leadership, she has since seen more criticism of her years in office.

power; she underinvested in German security and defense; she delayed long-overdue domestic reforms and investments in areas such as education and infrastructure; and her migration policy sowed the seeds for the success of the right-wing extremist party Alternative for Germany.

In telling the story of her life, in a book that weighs in at more than 700 pages, Merkel now seeks to admit her “misjudgments” and to “defend the things I think I got right.” And indeed, she spends much of the book playing defense on her record, with little self-criticism or regret — in line with her few interviews and public appearances since leaving office.

Her central argument is simple: Knowing it all better in hindsight is easy, but many reforms that now seem obvious — whether increased defense spending or a tougher Russia policy — were politically infeasible during her time in office. Her sole focus on the art of the possible in bureaucratic politics, however, leaves the reader unsatisfied. One wonders whether some things, even if difficult, might have been worth fighting and sacrificing for.

SEE MERKEL ON B7

### RON CHARLES

A forbidden game, a missing player and a suspenseful quest. **B2**

### SOCIETY

A moral philosopher takes on the bias against fatness. **B3**

### MUSIC

How Sondheim the man informed Sondheim the artist. **B5**

### MEMOIR

Cancer’s aftermath is its own struggle, as Lucy Grealy knew. **B5**



FICTION

A young fan of devilish games gets caught up in one



**Ron Charles**  
In 2006, Marisha Pessl’s debut novel, “Special Topics in Calamity Physics,” shot onto the scene as if it were propelled by a particle accelerator. Sparking a burst of publicity and praise, that comically bookish mystery established Pessl as one of the most imaginative young writers in America.

She followed “Special Topics” with a darker, more circuitous thriller called “Night Film,” which went spelunking through the life of a Hitchcockian filmmaker who traumatized his actors and his viewers. It was terrifyingly good fun.

Nobody is safe in a Pessl novel — readers included — but it’s safe to say she’s drawn a demonic pentagram around a small collection of familiar elements: a strange disappearance, a quirky narrator, a plucky gang of young sleuths and a haunting body of artistic work. Even in a pitch-black cellar, I’d know that the new book “Darkly” crawled out of Pessl’s infernally clever mind.

Like her previous novel, “Neverworld Wake,” her new book is being marketed for young adults, ages 12 and up. I’m so far up from 12 that I can’t see it without my bifocals, so I’ll take the fact that I enjoyed this story as a sign of its virtuosity and my essential youthfulness.

The self-deprecating narrator of “Darkly” is a high school student named Dia — short for Arcadia — who works in her mother’s Prologue Antiques shop in a small Missouri town. “Like some odd bird species sequestered for decades on a musty island,” Dia says, “I have evolved to be at home among the old-fashioned and passé.” Which is to say, she prefers telegrams to Instagram. Her ideal wardrobe consists of “cloche hats and box-pleated skirts.” No one at school can forget the time she tripped on the risers and swore, “Jeepers!”

Entranced by a narrator as delightful as this, we’d follow her anywhere, which is good because we’re about to. Dia’s greatest passion is Darkly, a collection of notoriously elaborate board games designed by the late Louisiana Veda, “groundbreaker, feminist idol, OG boss woman, ingenious inventor.” Handcrafted original versions of her games — “monumental works of art, filled with secrets, hidden mysteries, and a dark, bewitching beauty” — are as valuable as Monet paintings.

As she did in “Night Film,” Pessl creates the illusion of an artistic and commercial



LUCY NALAND/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

enterprise supported by a history of fanatics and detractors. The internet is swamped with rumors that Louisiana was an “insane dragon lady who tortured workers with her crushing demands and lethal temper.” Soon, the tentacles of her legend seem to stretch so far into the real world that you’ll start to imagine you once lost yourself in a Darkly game when you were a teenager.

The hints Pessl drops about these all-consuming games are enticing. Players are drawn into nightmarish realms of fiends and betrayals. In Headcase, you’re trapped in a mansion during a snowstorm trying to protect your family from a murderer who may be *you* losing your mind. Players never recover from Disappearing Acts, which “makes you question the world you live in and the people you love.” In the early 1980s, a game called Rasputin ignited such a panic among parents that all 800,000 copies were recalled.

“Darkly games are not evil,” Dia explains, a little defensively. “Yet they contain evil. They team with murderers, captors, goblins, tormentors — many of whom appear at first glance to be trustworthy or benign. The goal of the player, the pawn, is always to root out the evil, unbury it and bring it into the light, no matter how impossible the task or how chilling it is to see.”

When “Darkly” opens, Louisiana has been gone for almost 40 years, but a Willy Wonka-like offer lights up the world’s fans: The Louisiana Veda Foundation in London is offering summer internships to seven high school students. The application contains only one question: “What would you kill for?”

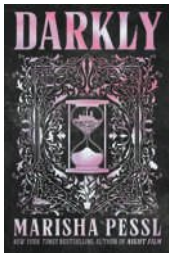
Hundreds of thousands of teens apply.

Much to Dia’s surprise — though not ours — she’s one of the chosen.

The teens who arrive in London to be Darkly interns include players from Germany, Ireland, Iceland and Nigeria. There’s also a rich French kid named Poe Valois III, who is the most handsome young man in the world. (Will this Adonis eventually fall in love with geeky, frizzy-haired Dia? Is this your first YA novel?) These seven young people have nothing in common with one another, except their deep devotion to Louisiana and her games.

And that, it turns out, is why they were chosen. Rather than spending the summer filing and photocopying in a London office, the interns are whisked away to a “dark and howling island” six miles off the coast of England. There, by Louisiana’s abandoned game factory, the suspicious kids are presented with a lucrative but dangerous assignment from the Darkly estate: Find out what happened to a 15-year-old boy who vanished four months ago while playing a stolen version of Louisiana’s final forbidden game, Valkyrie. (Cue the Wagner opera!)

Louisiana may or may not be alive, but Pessl is clearly thriving. I like to imagine she lives in a giant maze designed by M.C. Escher. How else could she dream up the discombobulating horrors that Dia and her six fellow interns are plunged into as they search for the missing player and do their best to avoid getting killed? No one here can be trusted — and neither can any surface: Walls reveal hidden pockets; trapdoors lead to secret passages; floors suddenly collapse. And there’s so much running around in this novel that I finally got in my 10,000 steps a day.



**DARKLY**  
By Marisha Pessl.  
Delacorte.  
404 pp. \$19.99

In the wildest sections, Dia and her friends dive into a full-scale version of the Valkyrie game that is playing out with an enormous cast of actors to experience macabre scenarios engineered decades earlier by Louisiana. The infamous Fox Sisters, those real-life spiritualists who claimed to contact the dead in the mid-19th century, control everyone’s attention in the game’s first round. And there are cliff-hangers — and actual cliffs — and tombs and crumbling castles and burned libraries and gargoyles that topple off parapets at inopportune moments. At her best, Pessl vibrates somewhere around the frequency of Jane Austen’s “Northanger Abbey.”

Letters, invitations and newspaper clippings are sprinkled throughout the text, though I was too dim to make sense of these clues until I looked back at them. (Your eighth-grader will do better.)

As the interns plunge closer to the solution of Louisiana’s final game, the unfathomable truth of the designer’s tragic life can’t stay secret much longer, and it becomes clear that the rules of this game have been radically revised. Dia thinks: “I don’t want to win. I want to live.” But it’s not guaranteed she’ll manage to do either throughout this crazy, funny, addictively suspenseful story.

“You know what they say about Darklys,” a collector jokes. “They own you. Not the other way around.”

The same could be said of Pessl’s new novel.

**Ron Charles** reviews books and writes the Book Club newsletter for The Washington Post. He is the book critic for “CBS Sunday Morning.”

There’s no place like home, but this Toto prefers Oz

BY ELIZABETH HAND

When Dorothy, who was an orphan, first came to her, Aunt Em had been so startled by the child’s laughter that she would scream,” L. Frank Baum wrote in the first chapter of his 1900 classic, “The Wonderful Wizard of Oz.” “. . . It was Toto that made Dorothy laugh, and saved her from growing as gray as her other surroundings.”

A.J. Hackwith draws on this legacy of canine levity in her very funny new novel, “Toto,” which gives the beloved terrier his own narratorial voice and very strong opinions. For anyone who’s been locked in a storm cellar for the last 124 years, Dorothy and Toto and their ramshackle farmhouse are blown away from dreary Kansas to the Land of Oz, where the house lands on a witch (wicked or not depends on your sociocultural perspective) and kills her. Dorothy’s longing to return home sends her on a quest to the Wizard’s Emerald City, and ...

Look, if you really need this introduction, you should probably read Baum’s book, or watch the 1939 movie. Or just read Hackwith’s novel on its own, though you’ll miss a lot of the jokes.

“Toto” largely follows the original storyline, updating it for the present day along the way. From the moment its eponymous protagonist and his human land in “what was either a crazy fairyland or a dying fever dream,” Hackwith’s Toto gives it all the side-eye, cracking wise and reveling in the fact that in Oz, he can talk (using many profanities) and everyone understands him (except, inexplicably, Dorothy).

Unlike his 16-year-old owner, Toto has no desire to return home. “Kansas was the *worst*, okay?” he says. Still, he’s skeptical of the welcome given them “by an entire village of people dressed like manic pixie Lolita influencers” — the Munchkins. His suspicions grow with the appearance of Glinda, the self-appointed Good Witch. Her pronouncement that Dorothy must also be a good witch, because bad witches are ugly, infuriates him. “Such an objectively untrue and body-shaming line,



MGM/KOBAL/SHUTTERSTOCK

which does *nothing* but uphold meaningless societal beauty standards that I *knew* Dorothy believed were [nonsense].”

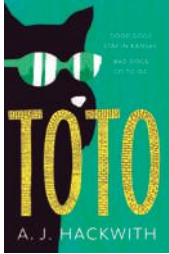
Things grow more complicated when still another witch arrives, a goth-punk teenager with a Keith Richards black shag and chunky boots. She’s one of the four estranged Witch sisters (now only three) who watch over Oz. She demands that Dorothy give her the magical silver slippers (their color in Baum’s novel, before the film turned them ruby) that now adorn Dorothy’s feet. “You have no right to those. ... Take them off. *Now*.” Glinda intervenes, and despite a frisson of attraction between Dorothy and the young Witch, Dorothy takes Glinda’s advice to go to the Emerald City and seek out the Wizard.

Their journey quickly takes a dark turn when they save a figure strung up on a gallows

— Scarecrow, hanged for practicing hedge magic to help local villagers. Homegrown sorcery has been banned by the Wizard, though the Witches are behind the decree. At the same time, Toto befriends a voluble socialist blue jay named Crow (because he believes he is one). Crow fills him in on the political unrest seething beneath Oz’s candy-colored landscapes, with birds spearheading the revolution.

“We are the true free folk of Oz,” Crow tells his new friends, “brave enough to throw off the shackles of magical servitude to the Four Sisters and claim the Emerald Throne for the People.”

Dorothy, Toto, Scarecrow and Crow are soon joined by an ax-wielding, perhaps murderous metal man, Nick Chopper, who can say only the word “chop”; Nick’s sister Lettie, a Munchkin Knight; and Lion, the true pacifist ruler of



**TOTO**  
By A.J. Hackwith.  
Ace.  
339 pp. \$19, paperback

the Beast Kingdom, who has been usurped by Tiger.

As they continue on their quest, Toto gladly supports Crow’s cause — Toto of the Revolution! The others are a bit more circumspect. That changes once they enter the militarized, walled Emerald City and finally meet the Wizard, who’s part sleazy autocrat, part gonzo billionaire.

Political satire isn’t new to Oz. Baum’s original book, and the 1902 hit musical it spawned, have long been seen as representations of the 1890s Populist movement, which sought to better the fortunes of ordinary men and women (Baum supported women’s suffrage; he also called for extermination of Native Americans) and factory workers by limiting immigration and adopting a graduated tax scheme, among other things.

The parallels with our own era are easy to find. Some of Hackwith’s targets — xenophobia, misogyny, racism, homophobia — are broad ones, though they are obviously deserving of Toto & Co.’s contempt. Hackwith name-checks characters and places in the larger Oz canon — the Nome king, the Winkies, Lurline — but doesn’t delve too deeply into the rich lore of Baum’s complex secondary world. Toto and Crow are wonderfully drawn, but some of the other characterizations are thin. The book lacks the emotional impact of Gregory Maguire’s “Wicked” and its sequels, or other contemporary riffs like Geoff Ryman’s “Was.” Hackwith could have leaned more heavily into the sheer strangeness of the Oz tales and perhaps taken a cue from the sublimely weird, dark film “Return to Oz,” a notorious Disney flop from 1985.

But Hackwith’s take is heartfelt and often hilarious. And she nails the ending, with satisfying consequences for misunderstood Witches and malefic Wizards alike, as Toto takes his place among the pantheon of Very Good literary canines. “A little dog could take only so much, right?”

**Elizabeth Hand** is the author, most recently, of “A Haunting on the Hill.”

**Toto in 1939’s “The Wizard of Oz.” In A.J. Hackwith’s book, the little dog shares his strong opinions and supports a revolution.**



NONFICTION

She battled her body. Now she’s fighting fatphobia.

BY JUDITH WARNER

By the time she turned 30, Kate Manne had earned a PhD from MIT, served as a junior fellow at Harvard and been hired as an assistant professor of philosophy at Cornell. She went on, in short order, to write an award-winning book on misogyny (“Down Girl,” 2017), a celebrated critique of male privilege (“Entitled,” 2020) and, in addition to her steady stream of academic work, many high-profile essays on racism, feminism, rape culture and politics in the most prominent publications across the English-speaking world.

She was becoming a big deal. And through it all, she did her best to make herself small, sometimes jeopardizing her ability to write and think.

When a psychiatrist she visited for depression seemed to suggest she might have ADHD, Manne “leaned into” the “surprise” diagnosis, procuring a prescription for Adderall, which she had heard was a great appetite suppressant. For the better part of five years, she then used the drug to sometimes go days without food, enthusiastically upping the dose even as she became increasingly “anxious and frenetic and wild with rage,” her marriage suffering, her work derailed. As a first-time author, she turned down an all-expenses-paid book tour because she couldn’t face the thought of being seen and photographed. She starved herself, eating nothing for 17 out of 30 days, too hungry to sleep, too consumed by “brain fog” to reason, to connect with her husband and baby daughter, to “be an agent.”

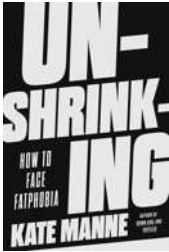
All of this because she was, in her own words, “fat” and had been fat for most of her life. Sometimes “small fat,” sometimes “large fat” — like many fat activists and fat studies scholars, Manne prefers these terms to language this community considers pathologizing, like “overweight” or “obese.” And, above all, because the self-hatred that derived from being “fat” was strong enough to hijack her brain, overwhelming her common sense, prodigious intelligence and simple self-interest.

In “Unshrinking,” a finalist for a National Book Award, Manne takes a hard look at a number of key points in her life when her mind betrayed her body in just this way. She explores how she struggled as a “fat philosopher” — a representative of a field that prizes “muscular and compact” forms of argument and “prides itself on sharpness, clarity, and precision” — to “reconcile my image of my body with its role in the world as the emissary of my mind.” That mismatch, she quips, has been her own, real-life “body-mind problem.” But it’s really no laughing matter.

Manne wrote this book after losing nearly 50 pounds in one year, largely through brutal bouts of self-starvation. During one such period, after seven days of nothing but plain sparkling water, she watched her field of vision “go fuzzy, then brown, then black” while seated on a doctor’s exam table. She managed to snap to, thanks to sheer rage: Informed that she was about to pass out, her doctor had given a little wave and left the room. “Earlier,” she notes drily, “he had complimented me on my rapid weight loss.”

After this wake-up call, Manne decided she wouldn’t let her beloved daughter grow up in a home — in a world — where being thin was valued far above physical and mental well-being. She vowed to “stop dieting, to stop obsessing, and to live peaceably with my body ... to be, in a word, unshrinking.” She willed herself to stop blaming herself for her body’s “soft borders” and unruly appetites. To stop seeing her weight as a problem; stop seeing her battle with it as her fight alone. She was, after all, a specialist in moral, feminist and social philosophy, trained to wage war in fields that are “political and structural,” not “psychological and individualistic.”

And, from that centering, the path became clear: “The solution is not to improve our self-image or love our bodies better,” she writes. “It is nothing less than to *remake the*



**UNSHRINKING**  
**How to Face**  
**Fatphobia**  
By Kate Manne.  
Crown.  
320 pp. \$29



SIMON WHEELER FOR CORNELL UNIVERSITY

*world* to properly fit fat bodies, and to effect the socially transformative recognition that there is truly nothing wrong with us.” In other words, rather than fight her fat, she would lead the fight against fatphobia.

Manne’s definition of fatphobia is sweeping: It is, she writes, “a feature of social systems that unjustly rank fatter bodies as inferior to thinner bodies, in terms of not only our health but also our moral, sexual, and intellectual status.” It is “a serious, and underestimated, form of structural oppression,” she argues, and it expresses itself in the myriad ways our society stereotypes, discriminates against and even punishes girls and women — and, to a lesser extent, men and boys — whose bodies don’t conform to our thin, muscled and, frankly, childlike ideal. (Not to mention to the much broader category of “normal” on the BMI scale — a weight range now exceeded by nearly three-quarters of our adult population.)

These forms of discrimination, gathered damningly in Manne’s book, include pervasive playground bullying and negative assumptions by teachers about fat children’s capabilities. (Even some parents, Manne cites research to show, are less likely to pay for college for their fatter daughters than for their thinner ones.) They also include employment discrimination of all stripes and wage penalties for fat women in particular; overt mockery and scorn by airline passengers toward fat travelers who can’t use a standard seat belt or entirely fit into their assigned seats; and the not-always-concealed disdain of doctors who, on the assumption that fat people are “lazy, undisciplined, weak-willed, and less likely to adhere to treatment or self-care recommendations,” spend less time with them and screen them less frequently for cancer.

For Manne, fatphobia explains why we persist in believing that being of a higher-than-“normal” weight causes poor health, and early death in particular, when the research is far more ambiguous. Citing research from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, she argues that the mortality risks linked to fat are “represented by a U-shaped curve, with being either very fat *or* very thin correlated with — and not necessarily causing — premature death.” She wants a public acknowledg-

ment that the relationship between obesity and poor health is complex, that even the best studies can be contradictory, and that the media consistently elects to cover the most fear-inspiring research.

Manne finds fatphobia behind that negative bias. It also, she believes, explains why people persist in dieting — a Sisyphean challenge that almost always fails long-term — and turn in large numbers to dangerous, life-limiting weight-loss surgeries. (Drugs like Ozempic get short shrift in the book, probably because their use skyrocketed after Manne finished the bulk of her research.) She believes that fatphobia operates through “diet culture” in a process very similar to gaslighting: convincing its “victims” to ignore their own perceptions and sign on to a version of reality that’s patently untrue: “This dry rice cake is so satisfying. This delicious, fatty food is actually nasty, even disgusting,” she illustrates. “We just need this one new supplement. We just need this meal kit service. We just need this exorbitantly expensive piece of exercise equipment. ... This isn’t about being thin; it’s about being *strong*.”

Manne argues that living in a fatphobic world is at least as dangerous as living with extra weight. She writes that there is “considerable evidence of the adverse health effects” of being subjected to social stigma and having “high internalized weight bias.” She cites research that says those effects include high blood pressure, blood glucose and triglycerides, abnormal cholesterol, and heightened levels of inflammation and cortisol. Dieting is known to lead to deleterious long-term health outcomes too, not to mention mental health problems, including disordered eating like Manne’s own. (Manne believes she only “came close” to developing atypical anorexia, an eating disorder that shares all of the symptoms of anorexia nervosa, except for being underweight. But in this argument, she’s not entirely convincing.)

When Manne attacks fatphobia and diet culture with the tools of her specialty, her arguments offer an elegant and fascinating new take on a much-picked-over area of feminist study: According to the rule of “ought implies can” in moral philosophy, she writes, “you have a moral obligation to do something

only if you *can* do it; or, equivalently, you are *not* obligated to do something that you *cannot* do.” By extension, she says, the “oughts” around losing weight for the sake of individual “health” (or in the interest of our collective health-care cost “burden”) don’t have moral grounding. Given recent science showing that most diets don’t work, that exercise doesn’t reliably lead to weight loss and that weight is highly genetic, “we cannot then be blamed for not doing the near-impossible,” Manne writes. “Fatness is by and large out of our control, making the supposed moral obligation not to be fat likely moot from the beginning.”

Other parts of the book, however, feel less fresh. Manne’s critique of beauty culture in particular will have a distinctly vintage feel for anyone who has been reading similar feminist criticism over the past four or five decades. But then, those of us who have been around for that long are really not the demographic for whom Manne, who is in her early 40s, is writing.

Her target audience is millennials and, in particular, Gen Z, that rising mass of underemployed, underpaid young people, raised amid the vast inequality and unceasing traumas of post-9/11 America, many of whom see themselves (not necessarily falsely) as the too-latecomers in a rigged system that has already distributed its spoils. These are her students and their peers, readers who will avidly nod along when she talks of “late-stage capitalism” and “structural oppression” and perhaps won’t question whether Manne overstates society’s role in shaping her harmful body-focused behaviors. (Of her Adderall misuse, she makes a striking admission: “I lost the kind of agency that is hard-won for me on a good day.” That awareness is fleeting, but it crystallizes a feeling some readers may have about her general argument.)

In many ways, “Unshrinking” is a perfect manifesto for a generation that struggles to find a sense of agency. It’s “late-stage feminism,” perhaps: what remains in a post-*Roe*, post-MeToo world.

**Judith Warner’s** most recent book is “And Then They Stopped Talking to Me: Making Sense of Middle School.”

Sometimes, what we do know can hurt us

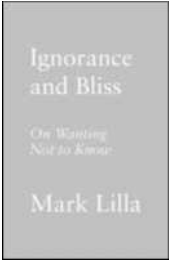


Becca Rothfeld

With apologies to those who comment on this review online, I must insist that one of the wisest pieces of advice a writer can follow is “don’t read the comments” — an injunction so indispensable that it has become a kind of mantra. You can find it emblazoned on sweaters and T-shirts, and there used to be an account on X, formerly Twitter, that existed solely to issue “periodic reminders to not read the comments section for, well, pretty much anything, ever.” Not reading the comments is a way of preserving both sanity and a kind of salutary ignorance: Only writers unaware of the vitriol of their readers can muster the courage to go on publishing.

According to Mark Lilla, an intellectual historian at Columbia, the comments are just one of many things we are better off not knowing about. In “Ignorance and Bliss: On Wanting Not to Know,” he argues that “we are creatures who want to know *and* not to know.” The repudiation of knowledge is every bit as central to human flourishing as its pursuit.

When Lilla began his whirlwind tour through the history of Western ideas, he discovered that few philosophers have grappled with the benefits of ignorance. It is axiomatic that “the first step in philosophy is to know the extent of our ignorance” — but Lilla suspected that ignorance is more than a starting point for generating its opposite, knowledge. With the aid of a range of thinkers, from ancient stalwarts like Plato



**IGNORANCE AND BLISS**  
**On Wanting**  
**Not to Know**  
By Mark Lilla.  
Farrar, Straus & Giroux.  
239 pp. \$27

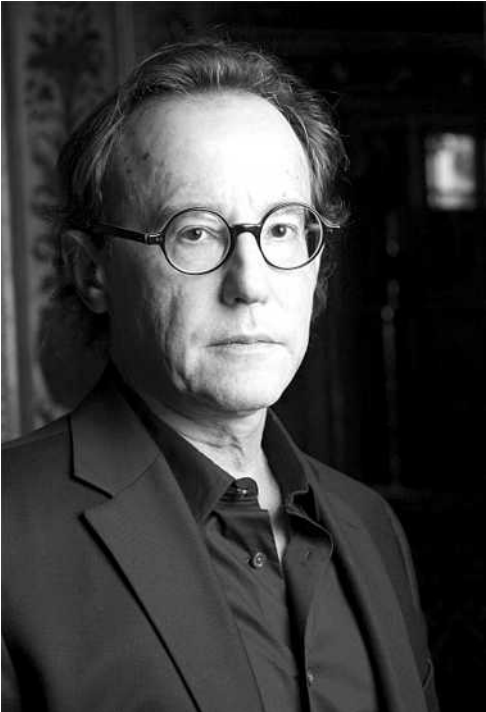
and Sophocles to modern fixtures like Sigmund Freud and Elias Canetti, he set out to craft a more positive defense. The results prove that ignorance is a topic well worth knowing about.

In a famous allegory that appears in “The Republic,” Plato describes a group of people who have always lived in a cave and who therefore mistake the interplay of shadows on the walls for reality. When one of their number escapes, he initially squints up in agony, unable to endure the light. Slowly, however, his eyes adjust, and he comes to prefer the beauty of the truth to the drab darkness of his former delusions. Plato proposes that we are all like the cave-dwellers — until we turn to philosophy (Plato’s doctrine in particular, naturally) so as to discover the source of the shadows.

Lilla begins by inverting this familiar story. What if someone who left the cave did *not* prefer the bright world outside it? What if he could not bear it? What if he longed for the consolations of his old illusions? “Ignorance and Bliss” goes on to demonstrate that there are many reasons most of us might opt for the comforts of the cave.

For one thing, unadulterated self-knowledge would probably lead to paralysis. Lilla draws on the work of Freud to show that we are at odds with ourselves — that we are nothing but an uneasy détente between jostling desires. But the fiction of an integrated self is nonetheless a precondition of moral agency. “Ethical action,” Lilla writes, “requires a *sense* of self-mastery, a false belief that I am fully and solely the author of my actions.” Ignorance of the true, multifarious nature of the self is therefore a necessity.

Besides, there is a great deal of knowledge that is harmful. Curiosity, while often a boon, is also rumored to have killed the cat: Not for nothing is the insatiable thirst for information a frequent subject of cautionary



CHRISTOPHE DELORY

Mark Lilla

myths. To demonstrate this point, Lilla devotes much of “Ignorance and Bliss” to a sharp and provocative reading of one of the most influential texts on the merits of ignorance: the Bible. Eve’s original transgression is perhaps the most notoriously impudent and imprudent act of knowledge acquisition.

Our intrusions into the lives of others are also apt to wound. “Certain social customs,” Lilla writes — for instance, laws establishing a “right to be forgotten on the internet” — restrict “our ability to pry too deeply” and

thereby protect members of our communities from our all-consuming prurience. Despite its reputation as the marquee human impulse, the will to knowledge is starting to look highly irrational.

But knowledge proves an irresistible temptation even for Lilla, who allows himself many digressions into a number of arcane but fascinating subjects, among them the history of exorcisms and the 19th-century Russian Slavophile movement, which militated against the influences of Western Europe. Perhaps the most gripping part of his book consists of a bold and startling reading of the works of Paul the Apostle, whom Lilla regards as the originator of anti-intellectual populism. “The teachings of Jesus presupposed nothing about a person’s intelligence or level of culture,” Lilla writes. On the one hand, then, Christianity was an antidote to a cruel culture of hierarchy and elitism; on the other, its most zealous champions sometimes went so far as to denigrate education, and Paul, in particular, was a “cultured despiser of culture” — a prototype of some of the worst proponents of Trumpism today.

These remarks about Paul are some of the only ones in “Ignorance and Bliss” that bear directly on contemporary politics. For the most part, Lilla refuses to subordinate his inquiry to the ruthless imperatives of relevance. It is refreshing to read a book with enough intellectual integrity to ask a timeless philosophical question unabashedly, without any urge to justify it in terms of present trends. Funnily enough, it is a work on the virtues of ignorance that ends up exemplifying the pleasures of the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

**Becca Rothfeld** is the nonfiction book critic for The Washington Post and the author of “All Things Are Too Small: Essays in Praise of Excess.”



BOOK WORLD



HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC COMPANY/HULTUN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Want to read something different? A play’s the thing.



**Michael Dirda**

Why is that? The short answer is that plays are meant to be seen in a theater, with good actors, appropriate scenery and all the stagecraft necessary to make them “go.” Here, in Washington, you can buy tickets to a fair sampling of the canonical repertory, ranging from Shakespeare’s tragedies to Broadway’s biggest hits. Yet what of the hundreds of plays that were once wildly popular and are now half-forgotten and seldom if ever staged? Their length makes them perfect entertainments for two hours of reading. Many are freely available online or gathered in collections such as George Rowell’s Britain-focused “Nineteenth Century Plays” and “Late Victorian Plays.” Whether curiosities or neglected gems, these plays almost always possess some striking quality.

Leopold D. Lewis may have been a one-hit wonder, but “The Bells” (1871) helped launch Sir Henry Irving, the greatest actor of late Victorian and Edwardian England. Irving would return to Mathias, the play’s guilt-ridden central character, again and again throughout his 35-year career, even appearing in the role one final time just two days before his death.

Mathias, the rich and respected mayor of an Alsatian village, secretly owes his good fortune to a vicious crime. Years earlier, a sleigh drawn by a horse caparisoned with bells stopped at his inn on Christmas Eve. A traveler entered to warm himself, and in so doing revealed that he was carrying a goodly sum of gold. The next morning, the merchant’s horse was found dead just outside the village, and the man himself had disappeared, presumably murdered. Now, 15 years later, again on Christmas Eve, Mathias suddenly begins to hear what no one else hears: the sound of approaching sleigh bells.

Lewis’s play can work only with an actor of imposing theatrical presence, for this is an almost Dostoevskyan psychodrama, one that includes the murderer’s mounting fear of discovery, hallucinations,

remorse and a terrifyingly real nightmare, even as the bells ring out louder and louder. Yes, it’s all quite over the top, largely because realism isn’t the point: Melodramas like this acquire their visceral impact by tapping into our primal fears and scarcely acknowledged desires.

By contrast, Arthur Wing Pinero’s “The Second Mrs. Tanqueray” (1893) holds up a mirror to late Victorian society. In this daring play, the well-to-do and kindly widower Aubrey Tanqueray, a man in his early 40s, marries the 27-year-old Paula, “a woman with a past.” Pinero then shows, in pitiless detail, the social and psychological consequences of that decision. No one in “The Second Mrs. Tanqueray” is overtly wicked, yet Paula is nonetheless driven to ... well, I won’t say what.

From the first, Paula longs for affection from her husband’s 19-year-old daughter, Ellean, only gradually recognizing that Aubrey doesn’t consider her a decent companion for the convent-educated young woman. As Paula tells him: “You’re afraid she might get a little of her innocence rubbed off in my company. Come, isn’t that the truth?” And Aubrey, despite himself, answers, “Yes.” An even more wrenching crisis arises when a besotted Ellean wants to marry a heroic young military officer who — unbeknownst to the Tanquerays — had been Paula’s lover.

In the end, this inexorable, deeply affecting drama is about the double standard: Men can have their fun and be forgiven, but if a woman acts in the same way, respectable society will neither forgive nor forget. “You must see now,” Paula says to Aubrey, “that, do what we will, go where we will, you’ll be continually reminded of — what I was.”

The poet John Greenleaf Whittier once wrote: “Of all sad words of tongue or pen/ The saddest are these: ‘It might have been!’” In “Dear Brutus” (1917), J.M. Barrie, the creator of “Peter Pan,” takes up the universal human desire for a second chance. Eight men and women, brought together at a mysterious country house, share a single trait: profound disappointment with their lives. As Purdie, unhappily married to Mabel, confesses to a woman not his wife: “Ah, Joanna, if we had met in time. ... It isn’t fair.” In fact, all of them “would give the world to begin over again,” and at the close of the first act they are granted that wish: By entering an

enchanted wood on Midsummer’s Eve, each will be allowed that longed-for second chance, without any memory of their current lives.

Shakespeare wrote, “The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves.” Consequently, the “new” lives of Barrie’s characters prove fundamentally no different from the old. Purdie, for instance, is now unhappily married to Joanna and madly infatuated with Mabel. In the last act, the eight reemerge from the woods with bitter self-knowledge, which immediately begins to fade from their memories. Though suffused with moonlight and magic, “Dear Brutus” remains utterly clear-eyed about our human frailties.

W. Somerset Maugham, now chiefly remembered for his urbane and cynical short stories, first made his name as a dramatist, once having five different plays on in London at the same time. When asked by an interviewer to name the best one, he immediately answered “The Circle” (1921).

In some ways, Maugham’s comedy is a complement to Pinero’s “The Second Mrs. Tanqueray.” Set just after the Great War, the action centers on the 35-year-old Arnold Champion-Cheney and his wife of three years, the 20-something Elizabeth. Thirty years previous, Arnold’s beautiful mother, Kitty, abandoned her husband, Clive, and their 5-year-old son to run off with the man she loved, Lord Porteous, thus ruining that gifted politician’s hopes of becoming prime minister. The couple, unable to wed, have since led a meaningless, albeit luxurious life on the continent. However, much to her husband’s annoyance, Elizabeth has recently invited Kitty and Lord Porteous to lunch. Also among the guests are Teddie Luton, a young war veteran and, through a mischance, the abandoned husband Clive. What will happen when they all come together?

Throughout the play Maugham deftly shifts our sympathy from one character to another, as each confronts the countervailing claims of duty and desire. The now blowsy Kitty declares, “One sacrifices one’s life for love and then one finds that love doesn’t last.” But does that matter? Might the initial sacrifice still be worth making?

There are few more celebrated 20th-century playwrights than that master of the

**LEFT: A scene, circa 1917, from “The Second Mrs. Tanqueray” by Arthur Wing Pinero. The drama explores the mores of late Victorian society. RIGHT: English actor Sir Henry Irving as Mathias in “The Bells,” the suspenseful 1871 play by Leopold D. Lewis that helped launch Irving’s career.**

comedy of ideas, George Bernard Shaw. Some of his triumphs include “Major Barbara,” “Man and Superman,” “Saint Joan” and “Pygmalion” (the basis for the musical “My Fair Lady”), but his later works often grow tiresomely didactic, with one sparkling exception: “In Good King Charles’s Golden Days” (1939), subtitled “A True History That Never Happened.”

Almost all the action occurs in 1680 at the home of Sir Isaac Newton during an unexpected visit from two distinguished gentlemen: King Charles II and George Fox, the founder of the Quakers. As the play progresses, Newton’s house will also be invaded by three of Charles’s lady friends, including the gamine-like actress Nell Gwynn, as well as the painter Godfrey Kneller and the king’s rabidly Catholic brother James.

Little actually happens — aside from spirited debates about religion, government, art and science. Yet the play never palls. Newton, for example, repeatedly disparages mathematics and his own lamentable “craze for figures.” Instead, he staunchly maintains, “there are so many more important things to be worked at: the transmutation of matter, the elixir of life ... and, above all, the secret meaning of the Scriptures.” Contrary to his reputation as “the Merry Monarch,” Charles comes across as politically astute, aware that his power is contingent on the will of Parliament and, in his fashion, utterly devoted to his wife, Catherine of Portugal. Plus, he is witty: “I tell you again there are in England, or in any other country, the makings of half a dozen decent kings and councils; but they are mostly in prison.”

In 2024, it may seem the very essence of fuddy-duddiness to suggest reading old, half-forgotten plays such as the five above. Yet these “period pieces” raise moral and social questions we are still grappling with, and do so with considerable power, suspense and charm. I enjoyed them all immensely. I’ll soon be going on to Tom Taylor’s “Our American Cousin” (1858), the play Lincoln was watching when he was shot. I never knew it was a comedy.

**Michael Dirda** is a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for Book World and the author of the memoir “An Open Book” and of four collections of essays: “Readings,” “Bound to Please,” “Book by Book” and “Classics for Pleasure.”

For Trump, the incompetence is the point

BY RON CHARLES

Given his history, I had assumed that sometime next year the wheels would again come off Donald Trump’s administration. But here we are, seven weeks from Inauguration Day, and his presidency is already noisily scraping along wheelless, trailing a pungent plume of burned opportunity.

It’s tempting to hope that Trump’s farcical behavior might continue to thwart his most malevolent threats. But what if his buffoonery isn’t a bug but a feature? How will the country defend itself from such weaponized incompetence?

For Russell Muirhead, who teaches at Dartmouth, and Nancy Rosenblum, who teaches at Harvard, the first step is to recognize what’s happening. They’ve just published an illuminating — and alarming — book called “Ungoverning: The Attack on the Administrative State and the Politics of Chaos” (Princeton University Press).

The authors contend that the disruption we’re already enduring is an intentional deconstruction of the state. “Ungoverning,” Muirhead and Rosenblum write, “is an unfamiliar name for an unfamiliar phenomenon: the attack on the capacity and legitimacy of government.”

“Ungoverning has been accepted and weirdly normalized by officials and party leadership whose remit is to govern.” It’s an “overt and increasingly specific plan to incapacitate the administrative state, to eliminate its expertise and regular processes and the ethos of public service.”

Recently, I spoke with the authors about their analysis of our political situation.

Rosenblum readily concedes that “America has a history of libertarianism and quite virulent anti-governmentism.” But the Reaganesque dream of a *smaller* state has fermented in a fetid atmosphere of conspiracies to produce an intoxicating desire for *no* state. “Burn it down,” as Stephen K. Bannon reportedly said.

In service to that cause, the Justice Department must be bent away from the rule of law toward absolute fealty to Trump. The intelligence community must sculpt its analyses to fit the president’s fantasies. The IRS must be starved so it can’t effectively fund the functions of government.

Whole departments could be eliminated or rendered ineffectual now that expertise has been reclassified as elitism, and competency is akin to disloyalty.

Muirhead and Rosenblum finished “Ungoverning” before the 2024 election, but

Trump’s ludicrous Cabinet picks — one already crashed in flames — serve as a sort of publicity campaign for the book’s thesis.

“He’s picking incompetent people because that’s how he maintains his own power,” Muirhead tells me. “Their only skill is to be submissive to him.”

In just 200 pages, the authors spell out how this works and what it could mean for the future.

“Our challenge,” Muirhead and Rosenblum write, “is to understand why a president would declare war on the machinery of government. Our answer: to throw off the constraints that the machinery imposes on the exercise of personal power. In telling this story, we argue that ungoverning grew out of Trump’s unchained impulse to command and his need to ‘own’ reality and impose it on the nation. The vehicle is an imagined conspiracy, the malignant ‘deep state.’ And because the ethos of ungoverning has come to define the Republican Party, the threat it poses goes beyond one person.”

“If unchecked,” they write, “ungoverning in the United States will lead to an incapacitated state, where the national government cannot offer a countervailing power to protect individuals.”



While authoritarian leaders grow ever more powerful, citizens without a qualified government would be left to predict their own weather, measure their own gasoline, stop their own pandemics, resist monopolies, deliver mail, educate their children, fight discrimination, monitor their own water, select safe meats, test their own medicines, build their own highways, etc., etc., on to a thousand and one things that a functioning government does every day.

Admittedly, “Ungoverning” can get jargon-y, e.g. “The maximal versions of unitary executive theory ultimately collapse the division between office and person.” *Yikes*. And the book’s thesis sometimes sounds too neat. But it remains an illuminating explanation of the great unraveling that’s underway in Washington.

Successful resistance, Muirhead and Rosenblum say, will come from individual states devoted to competent government, judges who won’t bow to this anarchic movement and a citizenry with a renewed respect for public service.

Meanwhile, “Ungoverning” offers a sobering reminder that Trump’s political chaos, no matter how much fodder it provides late-night comics, is not benign or even unintentional.

This article was excerpted from our free Book Club newsletter. To subscribe, visit [wapo.st/booknewsletter](https://wapo.st/booknewsletter).



BOOK WORLD

BY THOMAS FLOYD

Stephen Sondheim’s songbook reliably speaks to the human experience. Whether the setting was a ghoulish Victorian London barber-shop or a Sunday in the park with a famous painter, the composer and lyricist spoke to universal themes in a language all his own. Since his death in 2021 at 91, much has been written about the maestro’s life and work. But Richard Schoch’s new book, “How Sondheim Can Change Your Life,” differentiates itself by delving into Sondheim’s musicals to reveal the composer’s humanist side.

A professor of drama at Queen’s University Belfast, Schoch dedicates each chapter to one Sondheim show. Whichever musical you consider to be his magnum opus — “A Little Night Music,” “Sweeney Todd,” “Merrily We Roll Along,” “Sunday in the Park With George,” “Into the Woods” — it’s almost certainly featured here at length. If nothing else, this travelogue through Sondheim’s seven-decade career evokes an appreciation for the eclectic scope of his work. But more purposely, it offers a wealth of insight into his dramaturgy.

Writing about “Company,” Schoch makes the compelling case that the underappreciated “Sorry-Grateful” is the musical’s true masterpiece — not “Being Alive,” “Getting Married Today” or “The Ladies Who Lunch.” The chapter on “Follies” succinctly examines how book songs and pastiche numbers coalesce. Schoch’s exploration of “Send in the Clowns,” from “A Little Night Music,” makes for an enthralling deep dive on the formulation, execution and widespread misinterpretation of a Sondheim standby.

There’s also thoughtful variation to Schoch’s analyses. His breakdown of “My Friends,” from “Sweeney Todd,” is a technical take on that tune’s intentional oddities. But his study of the “Merrily” finale “Our Time,” a soaring anthem grounded by doomed camaraderie, focuses on the emotional impact of a song that carries weight, he posits, because of the baggage every audience member brings to the theater.

All the while, Schoch shares his insights on how Sondheim the man informed Sondheim the artist. Consider his take on Sondheim’s obsession with Japanese wooden puzzle boxes. “This, to me, seems the perfect metaphor for what Sondheim’s works accomplish,” he writes. “He doesn’t put the pieces of life back together again; he takes them apart. What Sondheim offers us is not life with all its riddles happily solved, but life deconstructed and laid bare, in all its confusion and disarray.”

This book is not meant for Sondheim neophytes. Try as Schoch might, any attempt to acquaint the unfamiliar devolves into a dizzying barrage of character names and plot points. For a text ostensibly fixated on Sondheim, a few too many pages veer into indulgent digressions on the shows themselves — and the work of his directors and librettists — while losing sight of the book’s monumental subject.

For the Sondheim aficionados, however, Schoch has generated a rich excuse to consider the humanity of a composer whose scores were so much more than clever rhymes and idiosyncratic melodies. Using



OLIVER MORRIS/GETTY IMAGES

What Sondeim’s musicals reveal about the man

Composer and lyricist Stephen Sondheim in New York in 1987. Richard Schoch’s new book offers insights into his humanist side.

the epilogue to assess “Here We Are,” the posthumously completed Sondheim musical that premiered last year, Schoch poses that unfinished art is a poignant metaphor for life’s inherent lack of resolution. “Life, as we live it, feels unalterably final: no chance for anybody to repeat a single moment of it,” he writes. “Our existence is not, after all, a rehearsal. And yet our life can likewise feel to us not finished.”

Amid such universal observations about Sondheim’s ability to reframe a theatergoer’s outlook on life, the book best lives up to its title when Schoch writes more personally. He recalls, for instance, being moved to tears by a rendition of “Someone in the Tree” performed via Zoom during Sondheim’s 90th birthday celebration. In a chapter about “Into the Woods” largely focused on the Baker’s Wife, Schoch draws poignant parallels between that character’s arc and his own experience coming out of the closet some three decades ago.

In these moments, it would appear Schoch internalized the compliment the playwright Charley utters to the composer Frank in the final scene of “Merrily”: “You don’t just write what you know [points to his head]; you write what you know [points to his heart].” When it comes to musing on Sondheim, from the intellectual to the introspective, Schoch seems to know it all.

Thomas Floyd is a writer-editor covering arts, sports and pop culture for The Washington Post.



HOW SONDHEIM CAN CHANGE YOUR LIFE By Richard Schoch. Atria Books. 304 pp. \$28.99

I beat cancer; this book helped me survive what came next

BY SULEIKA JAOUD

I first read Lucy Grealy’s memoir, “Autobiography of a Face,” in 2014, when I was in my mid-20s and had just emerged from nearly four years of treatment for leukemia. I had imagined life after cancer as a swift and organic return to normalcy — meaning a return to my life before cancer — but I found myself bewildered and dismayed by the dissonance between that expectation and my reality. I was no longer sick on paper, but my body was ravaged. My life felt ravaged, too.

I had survived the illness, but I felt desperately lost in the aftermath. That is, until I began spending time with Lucy Grealy.

I was living in the East Village at the time, and I began toting “Autobiography of a Face” all over Lower Manhattan, to doctor’s appointments, coffee shops, parks and libraries. In Lucy’s words, I found solace and soul-settling flashes of recognition that reassured me I wasn’t the only one who had endured this particular kind of suffering. I began calling the book, first published in 1994, my “sick-girl bible.”

Lucy was diagnosed at age 9 with Ewing sarcoma — a type of bone cancer that I knew all too well, as it had killed two of my dearest friends, the painter Melissa Carroll and the poet Max Ritvo. Lucy also endured years of horrific cancer treatment. She defied the abysmally low odds of survival, but she lost nearly half her jaw to the disease. That disfigurement haunted her long after she was cured.

In “Autobiography of a Face,” I learned that Lucy had intuited the same messaging that I had about the need to “suffer well,” along with the usual platitudes and toxic positivity. “One had to be good,” she writes. “One must never complain or struggle. One must never, under any circumstances, show fear and, prime directive above all, one must never, ever cry.” I recall feeling the same way, always downplaying the pain, the frustration, the fear that edged into terror, wanting instead to be a wan, leukemic starlet — graceful, selfless and valiant. When Lucy detailed how she ended up on a Catholic prayer list and received letters from strangers telling her to stay



MARION ETTLINGER

Lucy Grealy’s memoir, published in 1994, captures the full experience of cancer treatment and its aftermath.



positive and think of happy things like kittens and her favorite foods, I remembered the positivity pushers who had exhorted me to find the silver lining, who warned me that if I let in any bit of negativity, the cancer would win.

That silence took a toll on both of us. We carried the pain and fear and grief in a terrible kind of privacy, which Lucy conjures so vividly. “I felt as if my illness were a blanket the world had thrown over me; all that could be seen from the outside was an indistinguishable lump,” she writes. The only ones who understood were fellow patients. As she says: “People who weren’t ill or involved in the daily flow of hospital life had their own ideas of what it was like to be ill. It seemed impossible to tell them how it really was.”

And yet, in “Autobiography of a Face,” that’s what Lucy does. From the distance of 15 years, she describes precisely but also sparingly (mercifully) the surgeries, the radiation and

the chemotherapy that back then was even cruder and harsher than it is today — like being burned alive. She nods to the anticlimax of finishing treatment (“Then it was over”) and how she, like I and many others, expected that things would just go back to how they were before.

For Lucy, it would happen when her hair grew back; then she “would be complete again, whole, and all of this would be over, like a bad dream.” Lucy writes about acclimating to the hospital ecosystem, to the fluorescent lights, the beeping of monitors, the medicalese, and how at some point, it’s the outside world that comes to seem strange and scary. As much as you want to return to “the kingdom of the well,” to borrow the terminology of the writer Susan Sontag, it’s not easy to leave “the kingdom of the sick.” As with anything else, there’s comfort in familiarity.

Lucy endured so much during both her illness and its aftermath, but in “Autobiography of a Face,” she does not dwell only on the sorrow. She makes space for the full range of human experience. When writing about how deeply she internalized the “be brave” messaging, she brings a sense of irony and even humor to her own behavior, saying, “Had I not found myself in this role of sick child, I would have made an equally good fascist or religious martyr.” She details what I call “small joys,” which are tiny flashes of comfort, beauty and delight that buoy us. “I sat up, listening for the sounds of my mother’s footsteps, the clicking of the dog’s nails on the tiled floor,” she writes. “A tree obscured my window, shattering the light into patches on the dirty glass. I didn’t understand how I could have overlooked the sheer joy of these things for so long, how the intricate message of their simplicity had escaped me until just this moment.”

Returning to “Autobiography of a Face” on its 30th anniversary, I see that Lucy was an early teacher, showing me how joy and sorrow can coexist, how we must learn to hold them in the same palm. In these ways, and in many others, the memoir is a companion for those experiencing illness, telling us that what we feel — whether rage, delight, envy, despair or hilarity at the absurdity of it all — is normal and natural. This book is also illuminating for anyone who has sought to better understand a loved one’s experience of illness, allowing them a glimpse of what it’s like under that blanket.

When “Autobiography of a Face” came out, memoir in its modern incarnation was in its infancy. Autobiographies of famous, rich or otherwise powerful people had always had a place in American letters, but it wasn’t until the late 1980s that the life-of-an-ordinary-individual began to gain a foothold in publishing. Lucy’s book was a trailblazer in the genre, entering the landscape before such familiar

titles as Mary Karr’s “The Liars’ Club” and Frank McCourt’s “Angela’s Ashes.”

Lucy was inventing something that is now commonplace. Of course, Lucy was not actually an ordinary individual. She loomed larger; both her figure and her story hold the quality of myth. Still, she somehow came to feel to me like a friend in the wilderness.

Lucy not only gave me language for what I experienced during treatment but also elucidated the pitfalls of survivorship. I realized how urgent it was to address the lingering imprints of illness, both visible and invisible. Things have come a long way in the field of psycho-oncology since my first treatments, which I learned firsthand when my leukemia returned and I reentered treatment in 2022. Now my medical team routinely asks me: “How are you feeling? How’s your mood?” They check for depression, anxiety and even suicidal ideation. I don’t recall anyone inquiring about my mental health a decade ago.

I have heard that during her book tour for “Autobiography of a Face,” Lucy chafed when someone wanted to tell their own cancer story, as if the event were group therapy. I also heard that she balked when people asked how she remembered everything in such detail. She would say: “This is not my life. I wrote this. I made this.”

What she wrote wasn’t fiction, of course. Certainly these were the events of Lucy’s life, and certainly they were remarkable, and certainly there’s a kind of contagious resilience that comes from reading about how she shouldered the many hardships. But texts about illness or any other trauma aren’t by default going to move you or help you make meaning of your own life.

No, what’s moving about “Autobiography of a Face” is how Lucy took the raw material of her life and distilled, refracted and alchemized it. It’s the images she conjures, the metaphors she deploys, the lyricism of her sentences and the way she implements the tools of rhetoric to show us truths that feel fresh and revelatory. It’s how she gives ink to both the beauty and the pain and, in doing so, marries the two. It’s watching her bore as deeply into the pain as she could and excavating some gem from it — some essential truth, presented in its perfect form, that provides relief and even delight.

Lucy died at 39. She suffered inordinately, but she also experienced an inordinate amount of joy, and from that full and varied life, she fashioned an astonishing piece of art that continues to provide solace, succor and for me — and maybe for you — salvation.

Adapted from the foreword of the 30th-anniversary edition of “Autobiography of a Face,” by Lucy Grealy. Copyright 1994 by Lucy Grealy. Foreword copyright 2024 by Suleika Jaoud.



BOOK WORLD

Going against the grain to find satisfaction in woodworking

BY ALEXIS BURLING

Chances are if you ask a craftsper-son what they love about their job, they'll say there's something special about working with their hands.

For a woodworker, it's the feel of smooth, newly planed planks beneath their fingertips. The pungent, earthy smell of a sawdust-covered workshop. The sense of accomplishment that comes with making something beautiful or useful (or both) out of nothing.

Woodworking is a far cry from sitting at a desk all day, fielding phone calls and answering emails. But how exactly does one become a carpenter or cabinet maker without the necessary skills?

The answer: a whole lot of determina-tion and a healthy dose of elbow grease.

There is no shortage of books extolling the benefits of reconnecting with the material world and learning how to find true value in our work; Robert M. Pirsig, Matthew Craw-ford and even Henry David Thoreau are just a few of the authors who have excelled in the genre. But there's always room for more. In inspiring, infectiously written memoirs out this December, two authors — one a copy-writer turned builder and the other a bespoke furniture maker — reflect on the ineffable rewards of handicraft and how they got where they are today.

**‘Cabin: Off the Grid Adventures With a Clueless Craftsman’**  
by Patrick Hutchison (Dec. 3)

A few years after Hutchison graduated from college, he was faced with a fairly predictable dilemma. While many of his friends had started to do “heavy-responsi-bility” things like get married and have kids, move up in their careers or pursue advanced degrees, he had no long-term plan and mostly felt lost.

But instead of doubling down on his office job in Seattle, Hutchison did what many might consider either incredibly ambitious or just plain stupid: With zero carpentry skills under his tool belt and a next-to-nil budget aside from a small loan from his mom, he bought a “dark, musty, disgusting” shack off Craigslist for \$7,500 with the intent of fixing it up in his spare time. Located along a windy dirt road in Index, a tiny hamlet nestled in the foothills of Washington's Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, the one-room, 120-square-foot structure had no electricity, no water, no plumbing and no cell service.

“I needed a distraction of responsibility, a smoke and mirrors show that I could hold up to the rest of the world while I feverishly figured out what in the hell I was doing,” he writes.

“Cabin” is Hutchison’s charming, funny account of his journey rehabilitating the dilapidated hovel on Wit’s End Place with the help of his friends, from building an outhouse and installing a woodstove to replacing the leaky roof and making the spider-and-vermin-infested hut feel more like home.

Of course, during the seven years it took to complete renovations, everything that could’ve gone wrong did. Hutchison’s “parade of chores” yielded myriad unwel-come surprises (including a rotten founda-tion) and construction-related injuries. At one point, a major landslide cut off the area from the outside world for months.

Still, looking back, Hutchison wouldn’t have changed a thing about the experience — and in this equally motivating and relatable book, that earnest commitment to learning and the thrill that accompanies even the tiniest achievement shows on nearly every page.

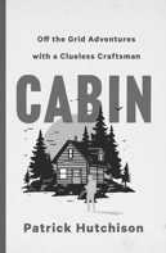
It’s that “quiet, persistent voice that nags us into wondering what else might be possible, what change might be a bit better for us in the long run,” he writes. “This story is about what happens when we give that voice room to grow.”

**‘Ingrained: The Making of a Craftsman’**  
by Callum Robinson (Dec. 3)

Unlike Hutchison, Robinson wasn’t en-tirely clueless when he first got his hands on a lathe. He grew up sweeping wood shavings and learning the art of carpentry from one of Scotland’s master wood carv-ers — his father, David.

Still, a fulfilling career in woodworking didn’t come easily to Robinson, who identifies as a “socially awkward” misan-thrope. As he explains in his sensuously written, impeccably detailed memoir, it took a bit of fumbling and bumbling about — including a stint at a pub, a wayward sojourn around the world, and a few years making handcrafted whiskey cabinets and elaborately carved credenzas for wealthy patrons and luxury brands — to get all the joints to fit.

But a decade into owning his own woodworking business alongside his wife,



**CABIN**  
**Off the Grid Adventures With a Clueless Craftsman**  
By Patrick Hutchison.  
St. Martin's.  
304 pp. \$29



**INGRAINED**  
**The Making of a Craftsman**  
By Callum Robinson.  
Ecco.  
320 pp. \$30



PATRICK HUTCHISON

designer and lecturer Marisa Giannasi, a catastrophe occurred. The turning point of the book hits when an important client pulls out of a big job at the last minute, throwing Robinson's work schedule and finances into a tailspin. Almost overnight, he and his wife were forced to rethink their life's trajectory or close the proverbial workshop for good.

“After ten years of hard graft, of taking little or no wage, of plowing *everything* we’ve made back into the business, of living and breathing design and woodwork and craftsmanship, relentlessly promoting and networking, watching friendships and hobbies wither away from neglect ... is this really how it ends?” he writes.

But as Robinson soon found out, “even a little hope goes a long way.” After he and Giannasi put everything on the line and opened a custom-made furniture shop in an Edinburgh suburb, their fate was altered for the better in all sorts of unforeseen ways.

Robinson’s immersive recounting of that difficult but ultimately gratifying experi-ence, interspersed with flashbacks from his childhood in a rambling 18th-century farmhouse and years apprenticing his father — “I ... clubbed, smashed, splin-

tered, and burned my hands, hyperextend-ed my thumbs, clogged my sinuses with sawdust,” he writes — proves he’s equally skilled at turning a phrase as turning wood.

For him, going out on his own was about “getting out of my father’s considerable shadow. About showing him, everyone, and perhaps most of all myself, that I could stand on my own two feet, blaze my own trail.”

For readers, Robinson’s metamorphosis into a man in charge of his own destiny is no less meaningful. After all, he reminds us, “engaging with the natural world through expressive manual labor speaks to something ancient in all of us. And it is something that might, as unlikely as it sounds, forever change your relationship with the objects around you. At its best it’s honest, useful, intellectually stimulating, and sustainable work. A rewarding and refreshingly independent vocation, provid-ing a connection with nature and with our innate drives to learn and create.”

**Alexis Burling** is a writer and editor whose work has appeared in the New York Times Book Review, the San Francisco Chronicle and the Chicago Tribune, among other publications.



KATE PALMER

Patrick Hutchison



MARC MILLAR

Callum Robinson

Washington Post  
Paperback Bestsellers

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION

FICTION

- 1 ORBITAL** (Grove, \$17). By Samantha Harvey. The 2024 Booker Prize winner follows six astronauts over the course of one day as they travel through space.
- 2 DEMON COPPERHEAD** (Harper Perennial, \$21.99). By Barbara Kingsolver. In this Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, a boy born in a trailer in Appalachia faces the challenges of childhood poverty with resilience.
- 3 THE FROZEN RIVER** (Vintage, \$18). By Ariel Lawhon. A historical mystery inspired by Martha Ballard, an 18th-century American healer whose journals were the subject of the Pulitzer Prize-winning history “A Midwife’s Tale.”
- 4 NORTH WOODS** (Random House, \$18). By Daniel Mason. Over the centuries, a New England farmhouse is a home that interconnects people, plants and animals.
- 5 THE BERRY PICKERS** (Catapult, \$17.95). By Amanda Peters. A young woman uncovers a family secret about her heritage.
- 6 FOURTH WING** (Red Tower, \$20.99). By Rebecca Yarros. A young woman competes to secure a spot at an elite war college for dragon riders.
- 7 HELLO BEAUTIFUL** (Dial, \$18.99). By Ann Napolitano. A tragedy from a young man’s past tears a rift in the relationship between three sisters he has befriended.
- 8 A COURT OF THORNS AND ROSES** (Bloomsbury, \$19). By Sarah J. Maas. A threat is growing over a magical land where a huntress is being held captive.
- 9 THE VEGETARIAN** (Hogarth, \$17). By Han Kang. A woman asserts her independence by refusing to eat meat in this novel by the winner of the 2024 Nobel Prize for literature.
- 10 TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW** (Vintage, \$19). By Gabrielle Zevin. Two friends run a successful video game design company while testing the boundaries of their relationship.

NONFICTION

- 1 ON TYRANNY** (Crown, \$12). By Timothy Snyder. A historian examines how dictatorships rise and how to fight them.
- 2 THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES** (Knopf, \$35). By Amy Tan. The best-selling novelist’s essays and sketches document the birds inhabiting the land around her home.
- 3 BRAIDING SWEETGRASS** (Milkweed, \$20). By Robin Wall Kimmerer. Essays by an Indigenous scientist offer lessons in reciprocal awareness between people and plants.
- 4 THE ART THIEF** (Vintage, \$18). By Michael Finkel. More than 300 art objects were stolen by one man, who kept them in a secret room.
- 5 DEMOCRACY AWAKENING** (Penguin, \$18). By Heather Cox Richardson. The author of the popular newsletter “Letters From an American” warns that America is trending toward autocracy.
- 6 SAY NOTHING** (Vintage, \$20). By Patrick Radden Keefe. A look back at the Troubles that ravaged Northern Ireland through the story of an abducted mother of 10 who was later found shot.
- 7 GREENLIGHTS** (Crown, \$20). By Matthew McConaughey. The award-winning actor shares lessons and stories gleaned from his 35 years of keeping diaries.
- 8 ALL ABOUT LOVE** (Morrow, \$16.99). By bell hooks. The first volume in the iconic feminist’s “Love Song to the Nation” trilogy considers compassion as a form of love.
- 9 THE HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR ON PALESTINE** (Metropolitan, \$19.99). By Rashid Khalidi. A historian of the Middle East traces events from 1917 to 2017 to argue that the conflict between Israel and Gaza is a war of colonial conquest.
- 10 THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE** (Penguin, \$19). By Bessel van der Kolk. A scientific look at how trauma can reshape a person’s body and brain.

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LITERARY CALENDAR

Dec. 2-4

- 2 MONDAY | 7 P.M. Angela Merkel** discusses “Freedom” with **Barack Obama** at the Anthem, 901 Wharf St. SW. \$75. 202-888-0020.
- 3 TUESDAY | 6:45 P.M. James M. Bradley** discusses “Martin Van Buren: America’s First Politician,” streamed through Smithsonian Associates at [smithsonianassociates.org](https://smithsonianassociates.org). \$20-\$25.
- 4 WEDNESDAY | 7 P.M. Barbara Boehm Miller, Carolyn McBride, Christine Gunderson, Jennifer Milder and Sharon J. Wishnow** discuss their books at Fonts Books & Gifts, 6262 B Old Dominion Dr., McLean. 571-327-3667.

For more literary events, go to [wapo.st/literarycal](https://wapo.st/literarycal).

“Engaging with the natural world through expressive manual labor speaks to something ancient in all of us. And it is something that might ... forever change your relationship with the objects around you.”

Callum Robinson, in “Ingrained”



NONFICTION



ERIC FEFERBERG/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Life behind the Iron Curtain and on the world stage

MERKEL FROM B1

Merkel also tells her personal story in this book, and it is these sections where we see most clearly her fact-oriented temperament, her humanist and Protestant work ethic, her appreciation for process instead of show (dearly missed these days), and especially her quiet optimism and “lightness of spirit.” (Merkel’s humor was rarely shown in public, but advisers often recount it, including how talented she was at imitating others, especially French presidents.) The book’s recollection of how a woman from East Germany climbed to the top of German politics and the international stage is inspiring as well as frustrating.

Merkel, now 70, begins by recounting the first 35 years of her life, in East Germany. A pastor’s daughter whose family was critical of the German Democratic Republic, Merkel learned early on “to be careful” about speaking her mind, lest the Stasi or someone else was listening. She provides fascinating insights into everyday life, such as the struggle to make photocopies using closely monitored machines (the regime feared the reproduction of political pamphlets). In her first trip to the West as an adult, Merkel also went to West Berlin to convince herself that it was indeed “one and the same city, on both sides of the Oberbaum Bridge border crossing.”

She studied physics in Leipzig and went to East Berlin to work on her dissertation. Her network of colleagues in the West, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland reinforced her critical view of the communist system. She admired the Poles’ resistance, and while she was never an opposition activist, she participated in gatherings of regime critics in Berlin. She recounts how one Czech colleague told her: “We both know we’re part of a great experiment that’s bound to fail. It’s only the others who don’t yet know it.”

And so it happened. With her sauna bag under her arm after an evening at the spa, Merkel joined thousands of people crossing the Bösebrücke bridge over to West Berlin on Nov. 9, 1989, after travel restrictions were suddenly lifted. In contrast to some of her friends, a euphoric Merkel hoped for a fast reunification of her country and never believed in a “third way” for the GDR — as its own reformed, democratic state — that would leave Germany divided.

She was determined to become engaged in politics, and, after a brief stint in the Democratic Awakening party, she became a member of parliament and quickly rose through the ranks of the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party under Chancellor Helmut Kohl — first as federal minister for women and youth, later for the environment. No one during Merkel’s early political career expected that the woman in skirts and knitted sweaters would eventually lead the country. The constant underestimation of Merkel would prove to be one source of her success.

During her 16 years as chancellor, Merkel rarely spoke about her East German identity, to the chagrin of those who wished she could be an advocate for the East Germans who still felt left behind. In “Freedom,” she reveals why — and how hurt she was by what she perceived as continuous suspicion. “In major disputes,” she writes, “I found my history in the GDR used against me time and again.” Merkel also reflects on the skepticism she faced as the first woman to lead Germany. She recalls thinking, after her first election, that being a woman in politics was certainly not an advantage. Although she now considers herself a feminist “in my way,” many women in need of empowerment would have appreciated more outspoken language during her tenure.

Merkel climbed the ranks of the German political establishment with shocking speed. Especially shocked were her West German



**FREEDOM**  
**Memoirs**  
**1954-2021**  
Angela Merkel  
with Beate  
Baumann.  
St. Martin’s.  
709 pp. \$40

**CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE LEFT: A teenage Angela Merkel, front row center, with classmates in 1971. German Chancellor Merkel with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow in 2006. A Syrian migrant holds a picture of Merkel as he arrives by train with hundreds of others in Munich in 2015.**



ALEXANDER NEMENOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

male counterparts — including her old rival and current CDU Chairman Friedrich Merz — who thought they had a claim on the German chancellorship. But Merkel asserted herself, and after breaking with her onetime mentor Kohl amid a donation scandal, she became party chairwoman and was elected chancellor for the first time in 2005. Soon after, she was confronted with a global financial meltdown, a migration crisis and an increasingly assertive Vladimir Putin, who tried to revise the European security order that had been established after the Cold War.

Merkel’s reputation in Europe suffered most from her insistence on austerity policies for Greece during the euro-zone debt crisis of the early 2010s. In her book, she insists there was no “sensible alternative” to the draconian measures. At the time, Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank, agreed with Merkel on the policy toward Greece and said more broadly that he would do “whatever it takes to preserve the euro.” (This is the same Draghi who recently published a report ringing alarm bells about the European Union’s lack of competitiveness, advocating joint debt and criticizing austerity economics — contrary to his positions, and Merkel’s, during the earlier emergency.)

But it was the migration crisis of 2015 that Merkel perceives as such a “caesura” in her chancellorship that she divides her tenure into the period before Sept. 4, 2015 — the day she made the decision not to close the German border and to let refugees, mostly Syrians, into the country — and the period after. She stresses the central role that humanism and empathy played in her decision, but also says her policies provided “fresh impetus” for the rise of Alternative for Germany, which transformed from a fringe Euroskeptical party into the extremist anti-migrant behemoth it is today. Her approach to migration policy now seems so untenable that every German political party has moved to the right of her views. That includes the CDU, though Merkel’s refusal to cooperate with Alternative for Germany in any way is a “firewall” that holds for the party to this day.

Perhaps the most frequent topic in Merkel’s book is Putin. In great detail, Merkel repeats and justifies many of the arguments about Germany’s Russia policy before the invasion of Ukraine in 2022. The old idea of Ostpolitik, or change through trade — that mutual dependence could prevent aggressive behavior from Russia (which proved to be an illusion in Ukraine) — shines through when Merkel writes that “with hindsight,” and “in spite of everything,” she still believes “I was right to make a point ... of preserving our contact with Russia ... and of maintaining links through trading relationships that were about more than just mutual economic advantage.”

The prospective NATO membership of



SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES

Ukraine and Georgia in 2008 was, from Merkel’s perspective, “playing with fire,” “illusory” and “politics reduced to hope,” but she failed to develop any meaningful pathways to security for the countries under threat. In 2014, Russia’s escalation in Crimea made her believe that “there will be no military solution” for Ukraine — in effect accepting that Putin was unilaterally imposing his own military solution. She was against delivering lethal weapons to Ukraine in 2014, and President Barack Obama adopted the same position after Merkel negotiated the Minsk agreements, a diplomatic framework that spectacularly failed. In the end, it was Trump’s administration that delivered Javelin antitank missiles to Ukraine, weapons that would prove crucial in the first days of the 2022 war.

Merkel makes abundantly clear that she never trusted Putin, and she highlights her leadership in sanctioning Russia in 2014. But she omits many of the friendlier policies her government pursued. She writes at length about the Eastern Partnership, an E.U. policy aimed at bringing especially Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova closer through economic cooperation. But in reality, Germany has never been a strong proponent of the plan. In fact, while Poland and Sweden pushed for it, Germany was concluding “modernization partnerships” for itself and the E.U. with Russia under President Dmitri Medvedev, who led the country from 2008 to 2012, despite Merkel’s revelation in the book that Putin made clear to her that he intended to return to power after the short interregnum of Medvedev’s reign.

We are left to wonder why, if Merkel was so clear-eyed about Putin, she did not invest more of her political capital into reaching NATO’s goal of spending 2 percent of GDP on defense. Although she describes a double-track policy of deterrence and dialogue with Russia, it was more dialogue than deterrence.

So those hoping for some guidance in an era of emboldened strongmen might be disappointed by “Freedom.” Merkel convincingly

describes the authoritarian changes under Xi Jinping in China, but defends the controversial investment agreement between the E.U. and China that she tried to push through in Brussels in the last months of her chancellorship. She also says little about Germany’s dependence on China as an export market, for which she is chiefly responsible, and which by now has turned into a trap for the German economy.

Her insights into Trump also give no comfort. She warns that Trump “was clearly fascinated by the Russian president” and “captivated by politicians with autocratic and dictatorial traits.” This book was finished before the recent American election, and Merkel’s surprisingly explicit admission that she wishes “with all my heart” that Kamala Harris would win evokes an often-repeated criticism of her: that she failed to prepare her country properly or in time for a new period of global conflict.

Since leaving office, Merkel has avoided public attention so thoroughly that a book and TV series reinvented her as “Miss Merkel,” an amateur detective solving crimes in her hometown. There is no doubt that she left her mark on Germany and Europe. But this memoir will not close the debate about the nature of that impact: Was she the steady leader of the free world or the culprit behind Europe’s current woes? Much of “Freedom” focuses on a detailed, almost lawyerly defense of her legacy. While she may have been right not to succumb to the dominant views of the day and to avoid politically expedient U-turns, the current moment of crisis makes it difficult to ignore the paths not taken.

But between the lines, the other side of Merkel’s legacy shines through: Her sober, pragmatic and cautiously hopeful approach to life and politics is sorely needed these days. Take her parting words for her own party: “We can only build a successful future if we go about it not with ill-humor, resentment, or pessimism, but always with joy in our hearts.” Or her reflections on her famous words in the refugee crisis: “We can do this.” She writes that “no phrase has been thrown back at me with quite such virulence,” but that it “expressed a determination to solve problems, to deal with setbacks, get over the lows and come up with new ideas. ... That was how I did politics. It’s how I live.”

“Freedom” reminds us that another politics, humanist and humble, can exist. We owe it to ourselves to chart our way back — not to Merkel’s policies, but to her style of responsible and reliable leadership.

**Liana Fix** is a fellow for Europe at the Council on Foreign Relations, an adjunct faculty member at Georgetown University and the author of “A New German Power? Germany’s Role in European Russia Policy.”



NONFICTION

What a humble shrub can teach our society

BY LAURIE HERTZEL

A couple of years ago, my husband and I decided to turn our Minnesota yard into a haven for bees and butterflies. We dug out the grass and planted native pollinators — coneflowers and monarda and goldenrod and asters. In the front yard, where there once had been a sickly magnolia tree, we planted a serviceberry.

The shrub is small now, but over time it should grow to more than six feet tall, and already it has started to produce. As Robin Wall Kimmerer says in “The Serviceberry,” the plant has an “early froth of flowers,” followed by abundant berries in June and July, “juicy and bursting with antioxidants.”

The flowers and fruit, she says in this short, thoughtful book, are the tree’s gift to the world.

In nature, Kimmerer says, plants, insects and animals have a generous relationship. They give freely of their gifts and expect nothing in return. Insects sip the nectar, birds eat the fruit, the serviceberry accepts nutrients from the soil and the rain. Everything relies on everything else, and “everyone gets what they need.”

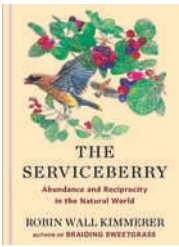
This philosophy of the “gift economy” is one she touched on in her 2013 book, “Braiding Sweetgrass,” which draws on Native beliefs and traditions as well as science to place humans in the natural world — not as rulers or conquerors, but as equals.

Kimmerer is an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and a scientist — a plant ecologist and a professor — and “Braiding Sweetgrass” proved a gradual and unexpected avenue to fame. Thanks to word of mouth and steady, dedicated hand-selling by booksellers, it jumped to the bestseller list six years after publication and then stayed there. The book has sold more than 2 million copies in 20 languages, and Kimmerer has been named a MacArthur “genius” fellow.

That book gave us a quieter, gentler way of looking at our place in the world — not on top, but in the middle, with everything else. Think of “The Serviceberry” as a



ROSEM MORTON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



**THE SERVICEBERRY**  
**Abundance and Reciprocity in the Natural World**  
By Robin Wall Kimmerer.  
Scribner.  
112 pp. \$20

subset of “Braiding Sweetgrass,” expanding on the gift economy theory. It’s a simple concept, one that Kimmerer believes could replace the acquisitive society we now have, which, she says, has “brought us to the brink of disaster.”

It is simply this: Give freely of what you have. Humans already occasionally employ a gift economy, she points out, with “buy nothing” groups and Little Free Libraries. And such movements emerge spontaneously in times of crisis, surging up “through the rubble of an earthquake or the wreckage of a hurricane.” In those times, people give to one another without expectation of return. The challenge, she notes, “is to cultivate our inherent capacity for gift economies without the catalyst of catastrophe.”

In a hunter-gatherer community in the Brazilian rainforest, she writes, a visiting scholar found that when a hunter brought home more food than his family could eat, he did not smoke or dry the excess food to save it for later. Instead, he had a feast and invited the community. “I store my meat in the belly of my brother,” the hunter said.

To some of us, this is folly; what about preparing for lean times? To Kimmerer, however, this is brilliant; if we all shared whatever excess we have, the world would have enough to go around. It’s an altruistic plan, but one she believes in.

She makes a convincing argument, wrapped in beautiful language and vivid imagery. The birds “arrive in a flock of calls that sound like laughter,” she writes. When the book veers into technical language, she pulls it back with humor: “This is economics that a botanist can love!”

Over the course of roughly 100 pages, Kimmerer makes her point repeatedly, but the variety of her examples keep the book from feeling redundant. Kimmerer is not naive or unrealistic; she acknowledges that avarice can upend the delicate balance between giving and receiving — and that a gift economy works best in a “close, tight-knit community.” Still, “The Serviceberry” is an optimistic book, one that trusts in the ability of people to do the right thing.

**Laurie Hertz** is a freelance writer who teaches in the low-residence MFA program at the University of Georgia.

In “The Serviceberry,” plant ecologist Robin Wall Kimmerer expands on the “gift economy” philosophy from her bestseller “Braiding Sweetgrass.” The serviceberry’s fruits are food for birds such as robins.

*In nature, Kimmerer says, plants, insects and animals have a generous relationship. They give freely of their gifts and expect nothing in return.*



JOHN BURGOWNE

Why the music industry is stuck on repeat

BY KRISTEN MARTIN

Top 40 hits from 40 years ago piped into supermarkets and dentist offices on a loop. Rolling Stone declaring that Creedence Clearwater Revival, who last released an album of new music in 1972, is the biggest band in America in 2024. A Led Zeppelin tribute band playing Colorado’s historic Red Rocks Amphitheatre each year. Holograms standing in for long-dead artists like Frank Zappa, and even for still-alive acts like Kiss, who announced at the end of their farewell tour last year that fans would soon be able to see their digital avatars perform.

For David Rowell, lifelong music devotee and a former writer and editor at The Washington Post, these are all signs that new music doesn’t stand much of a chance when our culture is so saturated with the songs of yesteryear. In his new book, “The Endless Refrain,” Rowell asks: “Do we even want new music anymore?” He takes readers on a rollicking tour to show how a potent mixture of nostalgia, industry greed and the rise of streaming has shaped how we interact with music, with serious consequences for artists and fans alike.

Rowell is quick to note that by “we,” he means people over the age of 25, and that he’s focused on “the hold rock and pop music from the past has on us.” His approach is light on data and science, relying instead on how he sees and hears the American musical landscape.

This is not to say that “The Endless Refrain” focuses merely on the author’s personal experiences, though he peppers the pages with anecdotes about what he gets out of listening to Yes — still his favorite band, in his late 50s — and how in “this century,” he’s still discovering new artists to love, like the National. To understand how and why old music took up permanent residence in our speakers, Rowell interviews an array of musicians, music journalists and concertgoers — and the first friend he knew who had access to MTV in the 1980s. (As Rowell quips, “Video didn’t kill the radio star, though, so much as it remade music as an instrument for endless, numbing repetition.”)

He finds out why a McDonald’s in North Carolina plays only ’80s music — it gets the tunes piped in through Mood Media, the



ALDARA ZARRAOA/REDFERNS/GETTY IMAGES

company that bought Muzak in 2011. He traces how, as music sales plummet in the streaming era, consumers choose to listen to back catalogues by wide margins, a boon for firms snapping up the rights to artists’ oeuvres. These forces disincentivize industry executives from investing in new acts — and even in new work from already popular ones — as both face an uphill battle in turning a profit. Finally, Rowell heads to Florida to shadow a Journey tribute band as they draw country club crowds seeking to relive their glory days, and travels the nation to “see dead people” at hologram shows, which don’t seem ready for prime time, drawing only hundreds of fans where the musicians they are mimicking once sold out arenas.

At times, humor and illuminating comparisons help Rowell stick his argument that Americans of a certain age want to listen only to music they already love. For instance, he



**THE ENDLESS REFRAIN**  
**Memory, Nostalgia, and the Threat to New Music**  
By David Rowell.  
Melville House.  
254 pp. \$19.99, paperback

notes that almost all of the ’80s acts he heard one afternoon at that McDonald’s, from the Power Station to Starship, are still touring now, a revelation akin to “learning that ‘Alf’ was into its thirty-eighth season.” He reminds readers of the “frothing vitriol” that greeted U2’s gift of a free album to iTunes users in 2014. The forcible inclusion of a new record in everyone’s library, even from a band whose early hits remain massively popular, felt “like a flier for some congressman running yet again for re-election put underneath our windshield wiper — only this flier was literally glued to our windshield, and it was a headache to dispose of.”

But Rowell’s most informed sources push back against the idea that the turn toward old music is anything new. Both music critic Ben Ratliff and musicology PhD Jason Hanley, who works as the vice president of education and visitor engagement at the Rock & Roll

A concert in Madrid in 2020 featured a hologram of Whitney Houston, one of the musical acts of the past few decades whose songs are still heard everywhere.


Hall of Fame, point out that every generation is nostalgic for the music of its youth. Algorithmic silos might deepen that natural trend, but as Hanley points out, listening to older music “brings back all of the memories, smells, tastes, touch, emotion that was connected to those moments in which that song became grafted on your neural consciousness.”

I was born the year that Madonna released “Like a Prayer” (a song I still love), but while “The Endless Refrain” didn’t quite convince me that musical nostalgia is anything new, I also wasn’t persuaded that “we” don’t want new music anymore. I came of age on Long Island in the heyday of third-wave emo, and yes, at 35, I still love listening to bands like Jimmy Eat World. Nostalgia among former emo kids has fueled an industry of emo nights and festivals, and enables bands like the Get Up Kids to sell out dates on a tour celebrating the 25th anniversary of their album “Something to Write Home About.” But I also seek out new music and buy tickets to see acts like Waxahatchee and Soccer Mommy play from their new albums live. Devout music fans — like Rowell himself — are still making space in their lives for new tunes. I think of my brother, who is 38 and has seen about 70 live shows this year, a roughly even mix of new music and blasts from the past.


If Rowell doesn’t always convince, he makes up for it with his passion for keeping a robust musical culture alive. Even now, he writes, “I go into every show hopeful and heedful of something that goes beyond a strong performance but speaks to the deep and primal ways we can feel connected to the music as it’s being made right in front of us.” He reminds us that staying open and hopeful about musical experiences might just give us more than another replay of “Don’t Stop Believin’.”

**Kristen Martin** is a cultural critic based in Philadelphia. Her debut narrative nonfiction book, “The Sun Won’t Come Out Tomorrow: The Dark History of American Orphanhood,” will be published in January.







8 a.m.  
34°



Noon  
43°



4 p.m.  
45°



8 p.m.  
39°

High today at approx. 3 p.m.  
**47°**  
Precip: 20%  
Wind: SW 10-20 mph

**MARYLAND**  
A mix of wariness and hope greets the merger of five mostly Black Catholic parishes in Baltimore. **c4**



**OBITUARIES**  
Alice Brock, 83, inspired Arlo Guthrie's "Alice's Restaurant," a radio staple at Thanksgiving. **c5**



**RETROPOLIS**  
For stories about the past, rediscovered, visit [washingtonpost.com/retropolis](https://www.washingtonpost.com/retropolis).



KEVIN AMBROSE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## From behind the lens, 3 decades of D.C. snow

BY KEVIN AMBROSE

Washington, D.C., is a beautiful city with impressive monuments, diverse architecture, large open spaces and scenic bodies of water such as the Tidal Basin that add to the charm. But when the city gets blanketed by snow, the landscape transforms and becomes truly magical. ¶ Numerous landmarks and parks are located near D.C., including Great Falls, Arlington National Cemetery, the Marine Corps War Memorial and Manassas National Battlefield Park. They transform into winter wonderlands during a snowstorm. ¶ I've been taking photographs of D.C. snow and the surrounding area since the Blizzard of 1996. After taking thousands of pictures of winter scenes, it was hard to pick my favorites, but here's a selection of snow shots from the region that span numerous snowstorms. ¶ I hope this winter provides more opportunities to photograph snow and ice, despite a trend toward less snowfall in recent decades. And when it snows, I plan to grab the camera to capture more wintry scenes.

SEE SNOW ON C2

This image from after a January 2016 blizzard that briefly shut down the Washington area is one among many D.C. snow scenes documented over three decades by photographer Kevin Ambrose.

## History awaits race for governor

2 WOMEN POISED TO FACE OFF IN VIRGINIA

Spanberger, Earle-Sears on track for 2025 contest

BY LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — All 74 of Virginia's elected governors have had one thing in common, be they slave-owner or civil rights champion, farmer or global business titan, Pat Robertson pal or man about town.

From Patrick Henry to Glenn Youngkin, each one has been a man. The same goes for the colonial governors before them.

That's on track to change, as two women seem to have cleared the field for next year's Republican and Democratic gubernatorial primaries. Rep. Abigail Spanberger has had the Democratic contest to herself since her lone competitor dropped out in April, and Winsome Earle-Sears's long-anticipated rival for the GOP nod let it be known in November that he was taking a pass.

While someone else could still jump into either of the June primaries, politicos throughout the state and beyond widely expect to see Spanberger and Earle-Sears atop the ballot on Nov. 4, in a history-making contest for the Old Dominion's Executive Mansion.

"To see two women major-party candidates for a very high-profile governor's race is, in and of itself, a big sign of progress in this country," said Amanda Hunter, former executive director of the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, which for 25 years studied women running for executive office on both sides of the aisle.

While Republican Kelly Ayotte and Democrat Joyce Craig squared off for New Hampshire governor this year, it is highly unusual for both major-party candidates for governor to be women. That has been the case only 10 times in American history, according to the Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University.

Spanberger vs. Earle-Sears would be number 11.

"It is extraordinarily difficult for a woman to be elected as an executive. And it seems like the best way is when two women run against each other, which is rare,"

SEE GOVERNOR ON C3

## Accused officer mulls Proud Boys head as witness

BY SPENCER S. HSU, PETER HERMANN AND TOM JACKMAN

A former D.C. police lieutenant will face a federal trial Monday on charges that he improperly warned Proud Boys leader Henry "Enrique" Tarrío of his pending arrest before the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol attack, then lied to investigators about their interactions.

Prosecutors say advance word from Shane Lamond, a 24-year department veteran, deepened anger among the far-right Proud Boys and fueled their instigation of the mob two days later at the Capitol. But Lamond, then head of the force's intelligence unit, says he may call Tarrío as a defense witness, seeking to convince the judge their talks were within the normal bounds of how a police investigator handles a source.

Such a move would put Lamond in the awkward position of seeking exoneration through a man serving a 22-year prison sentence for seditious conspiracy



PATRICK SEMANSKY/AP

Former D.C. police lieutenant Shane Lamond is charged with improperly warning Henry "Enrique" Tarrío ahead of his arrest.

after being found guilty of plotting violence to stop Congress's certification of the 2020 election, according to court filings.

Either way, Lamond's bench trial before U.S. District Judge Amy Berman Jackson will spotlight D.C. police interactions

with extremist groups in 2020 and 2021. That tumultuous summer and fall, episodes of street violence in Washington marred both racial justice demonstrations prompted by the Minneapolis police killing of George Floyd in May and marches by Donald

Trump supporters following the 2020 presidential election, culminating in the Capitol riot that led to at least five deaths, \$3 million in damage and assaults on about 140 officers.

The inner workings of police intelligence gathering stirred controversy, with liberal groups accusing police of favoring right-leaning organizations and crossing the line between eliciting information and appearing to take sides. They pointed to officers who posed for photos with supporters of Trump and who stood back as counterdemonstrators vandalized Black Lives Matter signs or pressed arguments to physical conflict.

Tarrío's attorneys said at his trial that Lamond would help him steer clear of protesters who disagreed with his group, though critics say location information helped the Proud Boys instigate fights, such as one in December 2020 in which four members were stabbed. Several high-ranking D.C. police officials are on

SEE JAN. 6 ON C3

## Surprise 'junk fees' in leases anger tenants

BY AARON WIENER

John Hall and Monica Bahena thought they'd found the perfect apartment in suburban Maryland — that is, until it became the source of enough financial and emotional stress to drive them out of the state.

At \$1,729, the rent for the one-bedroom unit in College Park that they saw on the Zillow real estate listing site was a bit over the couple's budget. But the apartment was newly renovated and closer to their jobs. They signed a lease for Unit 3073 at the Camden College Park Apartments and set the date for their move, lining up a friend's help to save on the cost.

Then they came to the building to finalize the paperwork and learned about the more than \$150 in mandatory extra monthly fees for a "technology package" and "front door trash pickup" — charges that consumer advocates say are part of a broader problem

with "junk fees" that corporations and private equity firms that own many apartment buildings are working into lease agreements to drive up profits.

Months later, the couple are living in an apartment they can't really afford as they await the outcome of a class-action lawsuit they joined against their building's owner, Houston-based Camden Development, one of the country's largest apartment developers and landlords.

"It was deceptive marketing," said Hall, 29, a high school teacher. "You get in, you apply, and then all of a sudden there are all of these fees."

Across the country, consumer advocates and policymakers have warned of a rise in extra fees charged by companies that are not obvious in the listed price. Last year, as part of a broader crackdown on these fees in industries like banking and aviation,

SEE FEES ON C4





PHOTOS BY KEVIN AMBROSE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

# Three decades of scenes from a snow-coated capital

Your Bathroom,  
just the way you like it.



SNOW FROM C1

**Snowstorm of Jan. 3, 2022**

A fast-hitting snowstorm on Jan. 3, 2022, dropped 5 to 10 inches of snow in the D.C. area, with 15 inches in locations near Fredericksburg, Virginia. The heavy snow snarled traffic on Interstate 95 and left 500,000 customers without power.

**Snowstorm of Jan. 7, 2020**

Two to 4 inches of light and fluffy snow coated the D.C. area on Jan. 7, 2020, with up to 6 inches in the far north and west suburbs. The snow at the Manassas National Battlefield Park was particularly photogenic.

**Snowstorm of Jan. 12-13, 2019**

The first snowstorm of 2019 packed a wallop, with 10 to 12 inches accumulating in downtown Washington and its northern suburbs. Snow fell for 35 hours.

**Snowstorm of Dec. 9, 2017**

A gentle snowstorm on Dec. 9, 2017, dropped between 2 to 4 inches on the D.C. area. The D.C. Christmas trees were frosted with snow.

**Snowstorm of Feb. 15, 2016**

A snowstorm on Presidents' Day 2016 blanketed the Washington region with snow before giving way to sleet and freezing rain. Snowfall totals reached between 3 and 5 inches in most of the D.C. area, briefly producing a winter wonderland before the change-over.

**Blizzard of Jan. 22-23, 2016**

A blizzard for the ages shut down the Washington area on Jan. 23, 2016. Snowfall totals across the region ranged from 17 to 36.5 inches.

**Snowstorm of Jan. 26-27, 2015**

A coating of several inches of snow fell throughout the D.C. metro region Jan. 26-27, 2015. Over 4 inches accumulated in the northern and western suburbs.

**Snowstorm of March 16-17, 2014**

A rare mid-March snowstorm dropped 7.2 inches at Reagan National Airport and 11.1 inches at Dulles International Airport. The snowstorm was one of the biggest on record for so late in the season.

**Snowstorm of Jan. 21, 2014**

A moderate storm dropped 4 to 8 inches of dry, fluffy snow across the D.C. area. Cold weather followed, and the snow stayed on the ground for days.

**Snowstorm of Dec. 8, 2013**

A light snow event coated the Washington area with a few inches on Dec. 8, 2013. In the District, just enough snow fell to coat the ground. Before snow changed over to sleet and freezing rain, the flakes were quite large.

**Back-to-back blizzards in February 2010**

Record-breaking snow fell during February 2010, with the back-to-back blizzards dubbed "Snowmageddon" and "Snoverkill." The storms capped off the snowiest winter on record in Washington, with a total of 56.1 inches.

**Snowstorm of Feb. 15-18, 2003**

One of the worst snowstorms in D.C. history struck on Presidents' Day weekend in 2003. National Airport received 16.4 inches of snow, Dulles received 22.7 inches, and Baltimore-Washington International Marshall Airport received 26.8 inches.

**Blizzard of January 6-8, 1996**

The blizzard of 1996 was massive and historic in scope. Every city along the Northeast Corridor, from Washington to Boston, received over 15 inches of snow. National Airport received 17.1 inches of snow, Dulles received 24.6 inches and BWI received 22.5 inches.

Kevin Ambrose is the author of the newly released book "Blizzards and Snowstorms of Washington, D.C.," which documents over 30 winter storms from 1888 to present with photographs, maps and storm stories.

**CLOCKWISE, FROM TOP LEFT:** A scene near the Lincoln Memorial at the end of a January 2019 storm during which snow fell for 35 hours. A snowy glaze in the foreground of the National Museum of African American History in January 2022, after a storm that brought 5 to 10 inches. Christmastime outside the Capitol in 2017, when 2 to 4 inches fell. At the base of the Lincoln Memorial in January 1996 after a blizzard that dropped more than a foot of snow onto every major city along the Northeast Corridor.



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# Yes, Virginia, your next governor just might be a woman

GOVERNOR FROM C1

said Republican pollster Amanda Iovino, executive director of the Virginia Conservative Women's Coalition.

Over the nation's history, 49 women have been governor in 32 states. Women hold that post in a record 12 states. That number will tick up to 14 in January, but only temporarily by CAWP's count, as Ayotte takes office in New Hampshire and Delaware Lt. Gov. Bethany Hall-Long (D) fills a two-week gap between her state's outgoing and incoming male governors, and South Dakota Gov. Kristi L. Noem (R) then steps down to join President-elect Donald Trump's Cabinet, as looks likely.

Women have had a far easier time winning seats in state legislatures and Congress than executive roles like governorships and the still-elusive presidency, said CAWP director Debbie Walsh.

"Especially when you're running for a chief executive position ... the question is, 'Will this woman be strong enough and tough enough?'" she said. "The stereotypes about women's leadership is they do well in committees. Legislative work fits into that. But being the executive, where the buck stops, is different."

The women running for Virginia governor have résumés that defy those stereotypes. Spanberger handled and recruited spies overseas as a CIA officer. Earle-Sears served in the Marines.

"Both of these women have very nontraditional backgrounds, and I don't think that's accidental," said Democratic pollster and strategist Celinda Lake. "That communicates a certain decisiveness, a certain toughness that often women have trouble conveying."

At least so far, neither Spanberger nor Earle-Sears has leaned into the barrier-breaking nature



HANNAH MCKAY/REUTERS

**Virginia Lt. Gov. Winsome Earle-Sears (R) speaks at a presidential campaign rally at Salem Civic Center in Salem, Virginia, on Nov. 2.**

of their quests, which in the lieutenant governor's case would be twofold: A Jamaican immigrant, Earle-Sears would be the nation's first Black woman governor.

"I could have never believed growing up that I could be asking Virginians for their faith and confidence in me to serve them as governor of our great Commonwealth," Earle-Sears, whose campaign declined to comment for this article, said at her September campaign kickoff. "Yes, this is an opportunity to make history, but our campaign is about making life better for every Virginian right here, right now."

Spanberger's campaign struck a similar note.

"Abigail believes that this campaign, while historic for the Commonwealth, will ultimately come down to the contrast on the issues between Abigail and her eventual opponent — as well as the contrast on their approach," Spanberger campaign spokesman Connor Joseph said in a written statement to The Washington Post.

Similarly, Vice President Kamala Harris did not play up the history-making prospects of her presidential bid — a departure from the way Democrat Hillary Clinton took aim at what she called that "highest, hardest glass ceiling."

"We saw Vice President Harris really didn't talk about gender that much. And it didn't mean it wasn't on voters' minds," said Karen Finney, a senior adviser to Clinton in 2016 and to Democrat Stacey Abrams in her unsuccessful 2018 bid for Georgia governor. "It will be interesting to see how these two women — they both have unique elements in their backgrounds — how they present themselves to the electorate."

As lieutenant governor, Earle-Sears is only the second woman elected statewide in Virginia, behind Mary Sue Terry, who won two races for state attorney general before stepping down in 1993 to run for governor against Republican George Allen. Terry's status as a woman who had never married or had children became an issue in the campaign, which



PARKER MICHELS-BOYCE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Virginia Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D) speaks in support of candidate Eugene Vindman in Woodbridge, Virginia, on Nov. 5.**

she eventually lost to Allen in a landslide.

The governor's mansion should not be a "cold, stone, sterile building ... [but] a home for a man and a woman, where you can hear the laughter of children," Oliver North, a staunch conservative notorious for his role in the 1980s Iran-contra affair, declared as he campaigned for Allen in October 1993. A whisper campaign about Terry's sexuality made its way to TV news, with Roanoke's Channel 10 asking voters on the street whether they would support Terry if she were a lesbian. (Terry says now, as then, that she's heterosexual.)

As a young political scientist in 1993, Mark J. Rozell studied news coverage of the Terry-Allen race for signs of bias. Now dean of George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government, he sees a big difference in the looming matchup between Spanberger and Earle-Sears.

"Nobody is asking the question whether Virginia is ready for a woman to be its governor," he said.

The question Rozell hears this time around comes from Democrats still parsing November's muddled presidential results. (Trump lost the state by 5.8 points, but outperformed his 10-point 2020 blowout, with Democratic turnout dipping and Trump making gains with some minorities.)

"They're asking whether a politically moderate, bipartisan woman who opposed Nancy Pelosi [for speaker of the House] is going to drive up the enthusiasm of the progressive wing of the party," he said, referring to Spanberger. "That's their worry, not [her] gender."

Terry thinks the climate for women running for governor — and president, for that matter — has come a long way since her race, even after a White House contest that improbably focused at times on "childless cat ladies" and Arnold Palmer's genitalia.

"Times have changed and changed for the better," Terry said. She thinks there is less "overt sexism" today — though "still people who aren't as com-

fortable with a woman [for chief executive] as they might be as with a man. ... It will be interesting to see how that plays out with the two women."

Woman vs. woman races are no guarantee that gender bias is off the table, according to research the Barbara Lee Family Foundation conducted with Lake.

"We always assumed if we had two women running, it would cancel out gender bias. We actually found it would amplify gender bias in some categories," said Hunter, the former executive director of the foundation, which is closing its doors.

Even in races between women, female candidates face outside scrutiny of their hair, wardrobe and tone of voice, the research found. Women must demonstrate competence and likability to voters, who will settle for competence alone from male office-seekers. Women also pay a higher price with voters for "going negative" against opponents, leading some female candidates to let outside groups deliver those blows.

Voters "still hold women to a higher standard than men — even with no men in the race," reads a 2022 foundation report, "Shared Hurdles: How Political Races Change When Two Women Compete."

Yet for those who would like to see more women in executive office, woman vs. woman races have one undisputed upside: "A woman has to win," notes Lake, who has begun working on a book with Finney and Iovino about what it will take to elect a female president.

"In those places where it's hard to break in ... having women-women races is a great way to break through this glass ceiling," Lake said. "Honestly, I think this is one of the major strategies to get a woman elected president in 2028."

## Trial to spotlight D.C. police's interactions with extremist groups in 2020, '21

JAN. 6 FROM C1

prosecutors' witness list, including Jeffery Carroll, the executive assistant police chief.

Lamond's choice of a bench trial follows a calculation that he faces better odds from a judge than a D.C. jury, given the high conviction rate experienced by defendants charged with police misconduct since 2021 or with right-wing violence at the Capitol, legal experts said. Waiving his right to a jury may dim the spectacle of testimony by Tarrío or top lieutenants, instead focusing the trial on questions such as whether Lamond gave Tarrío sensitive information or acted appropriately in handling a confidential informant and what questions he believed investigators asked him.

Lamond defense lawyer Mark E. Schamel has said his client did nothing to aid Jan. 6 rioters. He said that Lamond's work "was instrumental" to Tarrío's arrest and that he "was only communicating with these individuals because the mission required it." Lamond's wife has posted on social media that her husband was being criticized for doing his job by obtaining intelligence and preventing clashes between the Proud Boys and other groups.

"We have a great deal of faith in the court, and we want to take any politics and emotion out of this case, because the facts are clear: Shane Lamond has neither made false statements nor obstructed justice," Schamel said in a statement after seeking a bench trial last month. He declined to comment further.

D.C. police declined to comment on Lamond's trial but said in a statement upon his indictment that city officials "understand this matter sparks a range of emotions, and believe the allegations of this member's actions are not consistent of our values and our commitment to the community." Then-Chief Robert J. Contee III said, "There are times when we have people who don't live up to the oath. ... And when we have that, we have to hold them accountable."

Lamond retired after being placed on paid leave in early 2022 after an FBI probe began. The



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Proud Boys leader Henry "Enrique" Tarrío, seen with a megaphone during a rally for Donald Trump on Dec. 12, 2020, is serving a 22-year sentence for seditious conspiracy.**

department said it cooperated with the federal investigation and would launch its own probe into the lieutenant's conduct when the criminal proceedings are complete.

Lamond, 48, of Stafford, Virginia, has pleaded not guilty to one count of obstruction of justice and three counts of making false statements. He is accused of leaking information to Tarrío during the group's planned protests in D.C., at a time when Lamond's duties included monitoring extremist groups.

The obstruction charge carries a minimum three-year sentence and up to 30 years in prison upon conviction, although federal guidelines for a first offender are far lower. The false statement counts are each punishable by up to five years.

A 17-page indictment accuses Lamond of falsely denying that he tipped off Tarrío about the progress of an investigation and about his impending arrest on Jan. 4, 2021, for his part in burning a Black Lives Matter flag stolen from a historic African American church during a pro-

Trump rally weeks earlier.

That information enraged Proud Boys members, prosecutors said at Tarrío's trial, driving their planning for violence to keep Trump in power despite Joe Biden's 2020 election victory.

"We could have a ... riot" in Washington once Tarrío's arrest became public, a Proud Boys cooperator wrote in an encrypted chat group set up by Tarrío at the time. "Just let it happen," responded Jeremy Bertino, another cooperator.

"Maybe it's the shot heard round the world and the normies will f--- up the cops," continued Bertino, a potential government witness against Lamond who has pleaded guilty in a deal with prosecutors, according to evidence in Tarrío's winter 2022-2023 trial.

Relying on digital evidence from Lamond and Tarrío's cellphones and the potential testimony of as many as nine D.C. officers and officials, prosecutors accuse the lieutenant of making three specific false statements in an interview with two U.S. attorney's office investigators on June

2, 2021 — claiming that his communications were mostly "one-sided" from the Proud Boys leader when Lamond knew he regularly passed on confidential law enforcement information; denying that he tipped off Tarrío about the flag-burning investigation; and denying that he informed Tarrío of his arrest warrant.

According to charging papers, beginning in July 2019 and continuing until at least January 2021, Lamond and Tarrío were in regular contact regarding planned Proud Boys actions in Washington, and Lamond began using the encrypted messaging app Telegram to provide law enforcement information to Tarrío as early as July 2020.

The pair exchanged at least 500 communications via cloud-based services, but the pace and secrecy of the messages spiked after the election, including at least 101 of 145 Telegram secret chat messages between Dec. 18, 2020, and Jan. 4, 2021, that were destroyed by measures including auto-delete timers, charging papers said. Other messages were

recovered from the men's phones.

The indictment states that in key moments, Lamond appeared to commiserate and trade information with Tarrío.

"Hey brother, sad, sad news today. You all planning anything?" Lamond asked on Nov. 7, 2021, the day news media declared Joe Biden the election winner. "Yep," Tarrío replied, according to the indictment.

"Need to switch to encrypted. Alerts are being sent out to LE [law enforcement] that [Parler social networking] accounts belonging to your people are talking about mobilizing and 'taking back the country,'" Lamond added later that day, according to charging papers. "Getting people spun up. Just giving you a heads up."

On Dec. 18, one day before Trump announced plans for a "wild" protest when Congress met to certify the election, Lamond revealed information about the investigation into the burning of the Black Lives Matter flag after a Dec. 12 Trump rally in Washington, the indictment said. Tarrío later pleaded guilty to destruction of property along with attempted possession of a high-capacity ammunition magazine upon his return to Washington three weeks later.

Lamond volunteered to check with the criminal investigators "to see if they have you on video," prosecutors said. He then cautioned that the FBI and Secret Service were "all spun up" about Tarrío's statement that Proud Boys would disguise themselves as Biden supporters on Jan. 6, charging papers said.

That Christmas Day, Lamond allegedly told Tarrío he believed an arrest might be imminent because he had been asked to identify Tarrío in a photograph on Parler, prosecutors said.

On the evening of Dec. 30, Lamond and Tarrío had a call lasting nearly 15 minutes, during which Tarrío sent out a bulletin to Proud Boys leaders calling for an "Emergency voice chat," according to evidence at Tarrío's trial. Responses from other Proud Boys indicate that Tarrío had shared with them that he would be arrested soon.



The Guide to Offers  
The Washington Post

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See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)





# A cautious hope as African American Catholic parishes in Baltimore merge

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# OBITUARIES



JONATHAN WIGGS/BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES

ALICE BROCK, 83

## Namesake of Arlo Guthrie’s ‘Alice’s Restaurant’ hit song

BY BRIAN MURPHY

On Thanksgiving Day in 1965, two young guests visiting Alice Brock and her husband, Ray, repaid the hospitality by helping clean up an old church that the couple had converted into their home in western Massachusetts.

They loaded up a red Volkswagen Microbus with discarded furniture, scraps of wood and other debris. But the dump was closed for the holiday. So they tossed the junk down a hill in Stockbridge. Someone told the police.

And events were set in motion for what became folk singer Arlo Guthrie’s autobiographical anthem of wartime protest, hippie fellowship and a belly-filling Thanksgiving feast. The 1967 album “Alice’s Restaurant” also made Ms. Brock a reluctant counterculture doyenne as the purveyor of the place where “you can get anything you want.”

“It’s a lot of fun,” said Ms. Brock, who died Nov. 21 — a week before Thanksgiving — at age 83 in Wellfleet, Massachusetts, near her longtime home in Provincetown, “and it has a message of all the right things: of hope and music.”

The song, “Alice’s Restaurant Massacre,” spins the tale of the Thanksgiving visit with his buddy Rick Robbins and what happened next: fined \$25 each for littering and how that, in a twist of fate, possibly saved Guthrie from the draft during the Vietnam War. Guthrie’s more than 18-minute mix of storytelling and song became a singular hybrid: an antiwar rallying cry and a holiday favorite that’s replayed on many radio stations as a Thanksgiving staple with a well-known refrain.

*Walk right in it’s around the back*

*Just a half a mile from the railroad track*

*You can get anything you want at Alice’s Restaurant*

Guthrie, son of the Americana music master Woody Guthrie, first met Ms. Brock in the early 1960s when he was a student at the Stockbridge School, where she was the librarian. Her rambling home, once an Episcopal church, became a place for Guthrie and other students to hang out after classes.

Guthrie and Ms. Brock stayed in touch. In 1965, the 18-year-old Guthrie and Robbins, 19, were traveling around the Berkshires and ended up as Thanksgiving guests with the Brocks. Ms. Brock cooked a traditional meal that they ate in the kitchen, tucked away on the ground floor of the church’s bell tower.

The Stockbridge police called the next morning about the trash drop. According to the song: Guthrie confessed, he and Robbins were jailed and Ms. Brock bailed them out in time for “another Thanksgiving dinner that couldn’t be beat.” A judge fined him and Robbins for littering.

When Guthrie is later ordered to appear at an Army induction center, his criminal record keeps him out of the military. Ms. Brock said she helped Guthrie write the first part of the song. “The other half, the draft part, Arlo wrote,” she told the author C.A. Sanders.

Guthrie’s sardonic style gave the antiwar movement some new



STEVE STARR/AP

**TOP:** Alice Brock in 2008 in Provincetown, Massachusetts. **ABOVE:** Arlo Guthrie sings “Amazing Grace” to his bride, Jackie Hyde, at their 1969 wedding on Guthrie’s farm in Washington, Massachusetts, as Brock, second from right, watches.

and amusing points of reference, including the Stockbridge “crime scene,” officer “Obie” William J. Obanhein and the sergeant at the Army induction center who wants to know “if I’m moral enough join the army, burn women, kids, houses and villages after bein’ a litterbug.” (Guthrie and Obanhein later became friends.)

For Ms. Brock, the attention was overwhelming and initially unwelcome. “I don’t feel very good about having people point at me and say, ‘That’s her,’” she said in 1978.

Her first restaurant, the Back Room, opened in 1966 in Stockbridge and closed within a year as she struggled with the business end of running an eatery. “I felt that instead of owning it, it owned me,” Ms. Brock wrote in her 1975 memoir, “My Life as a Restaurant.”

When director Arthur Penn made the 1969 movie “Alice’s Restaurant” based on Guthrie’s song, Ms. Brock (played by Patricia Quinn) bought a Mustang convertible with the \$12,000 she received for the use of her name. Ms. Brock and Obanhein had cameos. (The movie scene of the Brocks’s marriage was filmed on the same day their real-life divorce became official.)

In 1971, she opened the restaurant Take Out Alice in nearby Housatonic, Massachusetts, and later expanded it into a 50-seat dining room renamed Alice’s Restaurant. For Guthrie fans, the place became as much a Berkshires landmark as the Tanglewood performance venue or the Norman Rockwell Museum. Ms. Brock said she often hid in the kitchen to avoid tourist cameras and autograph seekers.

“I resented it for a long time,” she told WAMC Northeast Public Radio in 2014. “But I’ve come to realize now that people are just delighted when they hear my name, so how can I complain?”

Her third restaurant, Alice’s at Avaloch, opened in 1976 on a resort across the street from Tanglewood. Little of the home-spun vibe from Guthrie’s song remained. Diners sometimes had to shout over the music from a disco floor.

She called it quits in 1979, packed up her car and drove to Provincetown at the tip of Cape Cod, where she spent some vacations as a child. She soon found a niche in Provincetown’s art scene as a gallery owner and painter. To make ends meet, she sometimes

helped out in local restaurants. (She was a New York native but liked to tell people she was conceived in Provincetown.)

“The light is so wonderful,” she wrote on her website. “The people are pretty wonderful, too, contrarians, cranks, queers, and curmudgeons. A great mix of round pegs that stopped trying to fit into square holes. Plenty of space to be yourself or invent a new self. I fit right in.”

Alice May Pelkey was born in Brooklyn on Feb. 28, 1941. Her father was a printmaker, and her mother sold real estate.

Ms. Brock described her childhood as often difficult, coping with a father she called domineering and spending time in reform schools.

She left Sarah Lawrence College in her sophomore year and moved to Manhattan, where she met Ray Brock, an architect and woodworker. They married in 1962 and moved to Stockbridge the following year.

Her books include “Alice’s Restaurant Cookbook” (1969) and the children’s book “How to Massage Your Cat” (1985). She illustrated Guthrie’s 1995 book version of his folk song “Moose Come Walking.” In 1991, Guthrie purchased the site of their 1965 Thanksgiving, the former church, to create the Guthrie Center as a music venue and interfaith worship space.

In 2019, pranksters dumped a load of trash and an old couch at the Guthrie Center along with a note: “Officer Obie told me to do it.”

As Ms. Brock confronted greater health problems, a GoFundMe created by a friend helped pay for her care. Her death at a hospice, from chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, was announced by Guthrie on the social media page of his Rising Son Records. Survivors include three stepchildren.

In 2022, Ms. Brock joined Guthrie and Robbins for their first Thanksgiving dinner together since the fateful holiday 57 years earlier. Robbins hosted the event at his home in Housatonic, not far from the hillside where they dumped the rubbish.

“In a return to their halcyon days of youth they’ll celebrate Thanksgiving together once again,” Guthrie’s wife, Marti Guthrie, told the Berkshire Eagle. “This time without the garbage.”

Tim Page contributed to this report.

### IN MEMORIAM

#### JONES



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Those we love remain with us for love itself lives on, and cherished memories never fade because a loved one’s gone. Those we love can never be more than a thought apart, for as long as there is memory, they’ll live on in the heart.



### DEATH NOTICE

#### BATES



**MARTIN RANDOLPH BATES (Age 79)**  
On Wednesday, November 20, 2024, Martin Randolph Bates of N.E. Washington, DC entered into eternal rest. Loving husband of Katherine T. Bates. Also survived by many other relatives and friends. Family will receive friends on Thursday, December 5, from 10 a.m. until the time of funeral service at 11 a.m. at Shiloh Baptist Church, 1500 9th Street NW, Washington, DC. Interment Ft. Lincoln Cemetery.  
**www.wisemanfuneralhome.net**



### DEATH NOTICE

#### BILLUPS



**BONITA KATHRYN GARDNER BILLUPS**  
January 30, 1943 – November 15, 2024  
Bonita Kathryn Gardner Billups, a proud Washingtonian, passed away peacefully at her home in Alexandria, VA, surrounded by family. Bonita was born in Washington, DC on January 30, 1943 to the late Ruth K. Gardner and Wendell P. Gardner. For many years, Mrs. Billups worked as an RN at Southeast General and was the Director of Employee Assistance Programs at Howard University where she positively impacted countless people. She is survived by her beloved husband, Lawrence D. Billups; and her sons Lawrence D. Billups, Jr. and Scott C. Billups, daughter-in-law Stacey Billups; grandchildren Lukas, Kristina, and Jacob Billups; and by a brother, retired judge, the Hon. Wendell P. Gardner, Jr. and his wife Darlene Mathis-Gardner. She is also predeceased her cousin Charles “Rocky” Ross, Jr. A celebration of her life will be held Wednesday, December 4, at 11 a.m., at 19th Street Baptist Church, 4606 16th St. NW. Flowers and donations may be sent to the church by Tuesday, December 3, at 5 p.m.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

### DEATH NOTICE

#### BOTELHO

**MARJORIE ANN BOTELHO (Age 78)**  
Passed away peacefully, surrounded by family, on November 28, 2024 after a battle with lung cancer.

Margie was the beloved wife of Frank Botelho; mother of Lisa Lynam (James), and Jamie Wineand (Brett); grandmother of Halle, Jamison, Sydney, and Chase; sister of Larry Jacobs (Cynthia). A funeral service will take place at Temple B’nai Shalom, 7612 Old Ox Rd., Fairfax Station, Virginia on Thursday, December 5 at 12:30 p.m. Interment King David Memorial Gardens. In lieu of flowers, contributions in Margie’s memory may be made to [cancervaccine-coalition.org](http://cancervaccine-coalition.org)

Please sign the family guestbook online where Margie’s entire obituary is available at **www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com**

#### DORSEY

**LESLIE ANN BOWIE SMITH DORSEY “Chip”**

Died peacefully on November 10, 2024, surrounded by her family. She was predeceased by her husband, Col. Joshua W. Dorsey, III, USMC. She is survived by her three children and their spouses, nine grandchildren, three great-grandchildren, and a host of other relatives and friends. The family will receive visitors at Kalas Funeral Home & Crematory, 2973 Solomons Island Rd., Edgewater, MD, on Friday, December 6, from 1 to 3 p.m. and 6 to 8 p.m. A memorial mass and celebration of life reception will be held at a later date. Details and updates can be found at: **KalasFuneralHomes.com**

#### DUANE



**FRANKLIN JAMES DUANE (Age 92)**  
Frank Duane, of Naples, FL passed away peacefully on October 27, 2024. A native Washingtonian, he attended Gonzaga College High School, earned a degree in Architecture from Catholic University, served in the U.S. Army’s 101st Airborne and built an impressive 40-year career with his father’s firm, Duane & Duane Architects. He led the firm’s growth, designing iconic landmarks such as churches, schools, and buildings throughout the DC metro area and Ocean City, MD. He is survived by his sister, Peggy; his beloved five children, Brian, Carol, Kerry, Claire, and Diana; 11 grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. He was preceded in death by his wife Jean of 64 years; his parents, Frank and Kathryn Duane, and his grandson Patrick. A memorial Mass will be held on Friday, December 13, 2024, at 11 a.m. at Our Lady of Grace Church, 15641 Norbeck Blvd., Silver Spring, MD. Interment at Gate of Heaven Cemetery. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Duane ’50 Scholarship Fund for Gonzaga College High School, 19 Eye Street NW, Washington DC 20001. For full obituary, visit: **www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com**

#### DUQUETTE



**JOHN PAUL DUQUETTE**  
September 28, 1928 - November 13, 2024  
John Paul Duquette was called back to our Lord. He was born in Bakersfield, California, and had lived in Virginia for 17 years making a wonderful life with his wife and two children. Above all things, he loved family. John was preceded in death by his father, Edward J. Duquette, Jr. He left behind his wife, Courtney (Zimmerman); children Addison and Landon; his mother, Ann Marie Duquette; his sisters, Aimee Luter (Marc), and Amanda Schiedemantel (Jeff), and nieces and nephews. A memorial service will be held at St David’s Episcopal Church, 43600 Russell Branch Pkwy, Ashburn, Virginia, on December 7, 2024, at 11 a.m. in lieu of flowers please contribute to Educational Trust for Addison and Landon Duquette.

#### EISENHARDT



**MARILYN COGAN EISENHARDT (Age 89)**

Marilyn Cogan Eisenhardt, passed away on November 15, 2024, in Alexandria, VA. Services will be held at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Alexandria on Friday, December 6, 2024, at 11 a.m., with a gathering afterward in the Norton Room. Additional services and the burial of ashes will take place at St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church in Ann Arbor, Michigan, next summer, with the date to be determined. She is survived by her daughters Elaine Valenzano, Barbara Eisenhardt (Tiffany Wahl), and Lisa Daniel (Ted); grandchildren Stephanie, Herthy (Scott), Lauren (Fritts) (Matthew), and Courtney Demihovsky (Alex); niece Barbara (Kitten) A. Barnes; nephew Rusty A. Barnes; and seven great-grandchildren. Marilyn was preceded in death by her husband, Robert G. Eisenhardt; parents Mabel J. and William G. Cogan; sister Joyce C. Barnes; and son-in-law Terry Valenzano.

Full Obituary may be viewed on the website of Demailne Funeral Home Alexandria. **www.demailnefuneralhomes.com**

#### HIGH

**SANDRA ANN HIGH**

Sandra Ann High, age 65 of White Plains, Maryland departed this life on November 19, 2024 peacefully at her residence. Sandra is survived by her devoted husband Carlton W. High; her loving children and many other relatives and friends. Viewing will take place on Monday, December 2, 2024 from 11 a.m. until time of service 12 noon at Terrence L. Johnson Funeral Service, 27 Industrial Park Drive, Waldorf, Maryland 20602. Interment Maryland Veterans Cemetery, Cheltenham, Maryland at a later date.

### DEATH NOTICE

#### IANNELLI

**PHOEBE ISLA IANNELLI**  
Passed away on November 22, 2024. Survived by her three children, Michele Willis, Jamie Iannelli and Domenick Iannelli Jr.; four grandchildren, and three great grandchildren. The family will receive friends on Monday, December 2, 2 to 4 and 6 to 8 p.m. at Jefferson Funeral Chapel, 5755 Castlewella Drive, Alexandria, VA 22315. Mass will be held on Tuesday, December 3, 11 a.m. at St. Louis Catholic Church, 2907 Popkins Lane, Alexandria, VA with burial at St. Mary’s Cemetery, 1000 S Royal St. Alexandria, VA. In lieu of flowers, please send donations in her name to Children’s National Hospital.

#### JONES

**EDNA R. JONES**

Edna Robinson Jones, of Washington, DC passed away on November 3, 2024 at the age of 85. Wife of the Dr. George W. Jones, mother of George Bladen Jones (Jacinth) and Adria Jones Wright; grandmother of Christian Bladen Geoghagen and Julian Ev-erly Shervington.

A service will be held for her, reach out to the family for details. Memorial donations in her name may be made to the National Museum of African American History and Culture and Girls Inc. of DC Metropolitan Area. **www.mcguire-services.com**

#### LEMCKE

**NORMAN LEMCKE**

Norman Lemcke passed on November 15, 2024. After moving to Florida leaving his home state of Massachusetts for treatment of kidney failure. He was loyal, witty, fun, hard working, hard working, dependable, kind, smart, empathetic, and always brought a smile to those who needed it most. When in Washington, DC he was executive assistant at Neuroscience, an international biomedical research society for over 10 years. Normie, you will never be forgotten, we love you. There was a private service. If you wish, you can make a donation to a charity of your choice. If you wish read more please visit <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/legacymembers/norman-lemcke-obituary?id=56802895>

#### LUNDEEN

**CHRISTINA LEE LUNDEEN (Age 80)**  
Of Dumfries, VA passed away on Wednesday, November 27, 2024. Chris was born on June 17, 1944 in Moline, IL. She retired from the federal government after 36 years. Chris was very active with the local NARFE chapter. She enjoyed traveling and was an avid sports fan. Chris is survived by two brothers, James Lundeen of Yakima, VA and Daniel Lundeen of Springfield, VA. Services will be held at Mountcastle Funeral Home, Dale City, VA on Tuesday, December 3, Visitation 10 a.m., Service 11 a.m.

#### MYERS



**CLARA MYERS**

The Myers family announces the peaceful passing of their beloved mother, Clara Myers (affectionately known as “Mamma Clara”), on November 13, 2024, at the glorious age of 95. Clara leaves behind six devoted children, two cherished sisters, numerous grandchildren, great-grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren, and a large extended family of nieces, nephews, cousins, and friends. For 44 years, Clara was a faithful and active member of the First Baptist Church of Highland Park, active in the neighborhood civic association and countless volunteer programs. A Celebration of Life service will be held on Tuesday, December 10, 2024, at the First Baptist Church of Highland Park, 6801 Sheriff Rd., Landover, MD 20785. Visitation begins at 10 a.m., followed by the service at 11 a.m. For those unable to attend in person, streaming will be available at 11 a.m. via the church website: [www.fbhp.org](http://www.fbhp.org)

### DEATH NOTICES

**MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.**  
**SATURDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.**  
**SUNDAY - SELF - SERVICE ONLY**

To place a notice, call:

202-334-4122

800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

EMAIL:

[deathnotices@washpost.com](mailto:deathnotices@washpost.com)

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Email deadline 3 p.m. daily

Phone-in deadline

4 p.m. M-F

3 p.m. Sa-Su

**CURRENT 2024 RATES:**

(PER DAY)

**MONDAY-SATURDAY**

Black & White

1” - \$160 (text only)

2” - \$370 (text only)

3” - \$525

4” - \$575

5” - \$725

**SUNDAY**

Black & White

1” - \$160 (text only)

2” - \$405 (text only)

3” - \$580

4” - \$610

5” - \$790

6”+ for ALL Black & White notices \$160 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$191 each additional inch Sunday

**MONDAY-SATURDAY**

Color

3” - \$670

4” - \$720

5” - \$885

**SUNDAY**

Color

3” - \$710

4” - \$810

5” - \$985

6”+ for ALL color notices \$268 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$299 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3” (All photos add 2” to your notice.)

**ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID**

**MEMORIAL PLAQUES:**

All notices over 2” include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through [www.legacy.com](http://www.legacy.com)

**LEGACY.COM**

Included in all death notices Optional for In Memoriams

**PLEASE NOTE:**

Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person.

Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post



## DEATH NOTICE

## BERMAN



**DR. JOEL BERMAN**  
VIOLINIST, PROFESSOR

Dr. Joel Berman, esteemed violinist and beloved husband, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather died November 27, 2024 at age 97, wearing his jauntiest cap after suffering a massive stroke. He was surrounded by family and friends until the end. A professor emeritus at the University of Maryland College Park, Joel served on the violin and chamber music faculty for 31 years. In addition, he served on the faculty of the Chamber Music Conference and Composers' Forum of the East at Bennington College for over 50 years. As concertmaster of both the American Camerata for New Music and the Alexandria Symphony and Conductor of the JCC Orchestra, Joel collaborated with thousands of musicians and contemporary composers over decades – including premiering a multitude of contemporary works. He conducted a 19-year-old Yo-Yo Ma, played at John F. Kennedy's inauguration, and performed the Brahms Opus 111 string quintet for the opening of the Kennedy Center Concert Hall. Joel graduated Juilliard with a Bachelor's in Violin Performance,

## DEATH NOTICE



earned a Masters in Education from Columbia, and a Doctorate of Violin Performance from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Joel is survived by his wife of 50 years, Alice Bailey Berman; and their daughter Ilana Krechmer (husband, Daniel); and children Ariana Finesmith (husband, Robin), David Berman, and Mara Berman from his first marriage to Doris Berman. Surviving grandchildren are Michael Janse, Benjamin Janse (wife, Jane Bradley), Sanal Finesmith, Ridley Krechmer, Margo Krechmer, and great-grandson, Simon Bradley-Janse – and a cherished extended family. He was predeceased by his devoted sister Eileen Friedlaender, and beloved daughter Rachel Janse (husband, Bud).

Joel's heart soared when playing chamber music with friends – as he did just a week before he passed. The Celebration of Life will be held at a future date. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Chamber Music Conference East. Please designate "Financial AidFund in memory of Joel Berman" at <https://cmceast.org/support.php>

## HALPERN

## JAMES BLADEN HALPERN



On November 28, 2024, JAMES BLADEN HALPERN, died in his home in Bethesda, Maryland. He was born in Buffalo, NY on April 20, 1936. The cause of death was a long-time battle with chronic kidney disease and complications from Parkinson's disease. His education began in Buffalo at Public School 56, where he was elected president of his graduating class. For high school, he attended Nichols School (a private preparatory school in Buffalo), where he had the nickname of "Judge." He was elected president of his graduating class, and was editor-in-chief of the yearbook. He graduated from Harvard College (Cum Laude) in 1958 and Harvard Law School in 1961. From 1961 to 1964, he worked in Washington, DC as a lawyer in the Corporation Finance Division of the Securities and Exchange Commission and, from 1964 to 1969, in New York City in the corporate group of the Proskauer law firm. In 1969, he returned to the SEC in Washington to serve as Chief Counsel of the Institutional Investors Study. In 1971, he embarked on his long-term career at Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn (now known as ArentFox Schiff), first as an associate in the corporate and securities group and then as a partner from 1974 until his retirement in 2003. In private practice, he represented domestic and international companies in a variety of transactions, including mergers, acquisi-

tions and public offerings. In addition, while at Arent Fox, he did pro-bono legal work for not-for-profit organizations, primarily Carlos Rossabi School, where students learn English as a second language. In retirement, he served on the Board of Trustees of the Carlos Rosario School; provided pro-bono legal advice to not-for-profit organizations; and continued his pursuit of knowledge, especially enjoying the study of short stories and playing Words with Friends.

He is survived by his wife of more than 45 years, Niesa Brateman Halpern and by his daughters Jennifer Ann Halpern (Wyckoff NJ) and Sheri Elizabeth Halpern (Atlanta GA), his son-in-law Daniel Vranesich and Jennifer and Daniel's children, Ian and Louisa, and his son-in-law, Joshua Youdovin. James B. Halpern is survived by his brother Charles R. Halpern and his wife Susan P. Halpern, both residing in Berkeley, CA. Philip Halpern (who was a justice on the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York) and Goldene Friedman Halpern, the parents of James Halpern, predeceased him, as did Jessie Malkoff Hackes, from whom he was divorced.

A graveside service will be held on Sunday, December 8, 2024, at Forest Lawn Cemetery in Buffalo, NY. In lieu of flowers, the family would welcome a donation to the charity of your choice or the Justice Philip Halpern Fund at Temple Beth Zion, Buffalo, NY. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

## HINTON



**ALBERT ANTHONY HINTON**

Albert Anthony Hinton, 91, of Potomac, MD, passed away on November 23, 2024. Al was born in DC, and lived his entire life in the Washington Metropolitan area. He attended Woodrow Wilson High School and American University. Al and his wife, Linda, raised their five children in Potomac, and enjoyed spending leisure time in their homes

on Hilton Head Island, Highland Beach, Florida, and in Peninsula on the Eastern Shore. Al was an intrepid entrepreneur and founded several successful businesses. Most notable was Potomac Foods, which he co-founded with his partner and close friend, Larry Bulman. When the company was sold in the late 1990's, the sold the 22 Burger King Restaurants. Al had a sharp eye for real estate and accumulated an impressive portfolio of apartment buildings, shopping centers, and car washes, as well as, other commercial properties. Most notable is that Al was the definitive self-made man. He was also a long time member of The Touchdown Club, Congressional Country Club and The Tournament Players Club. Al will be greatly missed by his wife of 65 years, Linda; sons Donnie (Kysti) and Devin (Valerie), and daughter, Donna; grandchildren Alex, Andrew, Austin, Anthony, Savannah, Kenna, Darien, Camy, Dean, Holly, Carter, and Lilly; and great-grandchildren Eleanor and Atticus. He was preceded in death by his sons, Dana and a class brother Lloyd and Donnie, and his mother, Jessie. The funeral services and burial are private. A gathering of friends and family will be held at Tournament Players Club of Potomac on Sunday, December 1 at 4 p.m.

## KEANEY



**WINIFRED GLEESON KEANEY**

Winifred Gleeson Keane, 81, former professor of English at George Mason University, died on November 25, 2024 at home in Fairfax, VA. Dr. Keaney wrote and taught English literature with a focus on medieval studies for 30 years, where she inspired a generation of literary scholars. A graduate of Good Counsel College, Duquesne University and the University of Maryland, Dr. Keaney earned an undergraduate, masters and doctorate in English, contributed to many literary journals and published The Expansion and Transformations of Courtly Literature. Winnie

is survived by her husband, Kevin Keane; her three children, Elizabeth, Matthew and Alice, and four grandchildren. Winnie thrilled in being a grandmother and spoiling her grandchildren rotten.

As a mother, Winnie poured herself into her family and dedicated late nights sewing Halloween costumes, helping with school projects, baking birthday cakes, or wrapping presents and hours cheering at swim meets, school plays, or serving as her class mom. Winnie took great joy in her friendships, and she was most herself when she was doing something for someone else. Through her work with the Schoolchildren of Mockingbird Drive, Safe Passage, and St. Mary's Church, Ros instilled in her children the belief that it takes hard work to make the world a better place and an understanding that they have a responsibility to undertake that work.

Visitation will be held on Thursday, December 5, from 6 to 8 p.m., at Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home, 9902 Braddock Rd., Fairfax, VA 22032. Funeral Mass will be celebrated on Friday, December 6, 2024 at 11 a.m., at St. Mary of Sorrows Parish Center at 5222 Sideburn Rd., Fairfax, VA 22032. Entombment will follow at Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home, 9902 Braddock Rd., Fairfax, VA 22032. In lieu of flowers, the family has requested that donations please be made to Children's Hospital. The online guestbook is available at [fairfaxmemorialfuneralhome.com](http://fairfaxmemorialfuneralhome.com)

## ROBERTSON



**DONALD B. ROBERTSON 1931 - 2024**

Donald Brackett Robertson, of Chevy Chase, MD, died peacefully on November 24, 2024, from natural causes. He was born October 6, 1931, to Nathan W. Robertson, a newspaper reporter, and Elizabeth Robertson, a medical secretary, in Washington, DC. His wife of 59 years, Marion Ostrom Robertson, of Wabasha, Minnesota, whom he simply adored, died in 2019. His parents and grandparents also lived in Chevy Chase. He is survived by four children, Steve (Meg, Anne (Tom Fronk), Tom, and Ted (Deborah Orosz), and seven grandchildren. After attending Chevy Chase Elementary and Leland Junior High in Maryland and Wilson High School in the District, he graduated from Oberlin College (1953), where he captained the football and baseball teams.

After Oberlin, he thought he'd never find such good friends again, but did so in the navy, where he served as an officer on the destroyer USS Hickox in the Atlantic and Mediterranean in 1953-1955.

Since graduating from Columbia Law School in 1958 until very recently he practiced law in Washington and Maryland. At times, he was an associate and partner at the firm of Ross, Marsh & Foster. He was Board Counsel to the Montgomery County Board of Supervisors of Elections from 1994 until 2002.

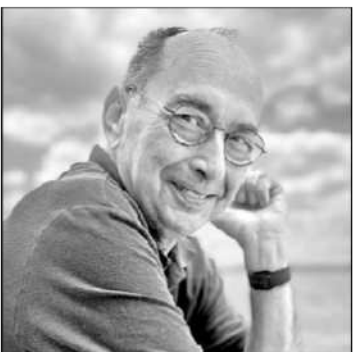
In 1970, he was elected to represent District 18 (Chevy Chase and Silver Spring) in the Maryland House of Delegates and served until 1989, having been Chairman of the Montgomery County Delegation (1971-1978), Majority Leader (1979-1987), and Speaker Pro Tem (1988-1989). In 1999-2000, he chaired a special commission on lobbying ethics for the Maryland General Assembly. He loved this work.

He also loved Washington area sports teams. In 1940, he saw Washington lose 73-0 to Chicago in the league championship. In 1941, he shared a season ticket—costing \$9.90—with a friend; one sat in the front of the seat, the other in the back. He was at Griffith stadium to root for Washington on December 7, 1941.

In a 1988 editorial, the Washington Post recognized his public service, highlighting his "stunning attention to detail." It added, "Robertson listened, did his homework and then made thoughtful decisions." A memorial service will be held at a later date. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Lincoln Cottage or to Bethesda Big Train Baseball, or to a charity of one's choice.

## DEATH NOTICE

## BRIGL



**JAMES JEROME BRIGL**

James Jerome Brigl, 73, passed from this life on November 6, 2024 in Fort Wayne, IN. Born on September 25, 1951 in Bismarck, ND, Jim was predeceased by his loving parents, Ju-

## DEATH NOTICE

lius and Virginia (Martin) Brigl. He is survived by his six siblings and their spouses, many nieces and nephews, and his dear friends in the DMV and in Fort Wayne.

From August 2022 until his passing, Jim faced many health challenges. In late summer 2024, he began home hospice care. He was a person of many interests and talents. He enjoyed golfing, airplanes, growing flowers, studying Scripture, art, music, politics and spending time with his dog, Briggs. Jim had an outgoing personality and easily talked with anyone he met.

Jim's remains will be interred at Cool Spring Natural Cemetery, 901 Cool Spring Lane, Berryville, VA 22611, on the grounds of the Holy Cross Abbey of Trappist monks, on Saturday, December 7, 2024. The outdoor memorial service and burial will begin at 12 noon. Donations in Jim's memory may be made to Christ House, 1717 Columbia Road NW, Washington, DC 20009 (ChristHouse.org). For questions, please call (202) 276-3338.

## COHEN



**GRACE CHARLOP COHEN**

Grace (Charlop) Cohen, 96, of Alexandria, VA passed away on November 23, 2024. She was born on April 29, 1928 in New London, CT to Sam and Evelyn Charlop. Most of her childhood was spent in Honolulu while her father served in the Navy, including the bombing on December 7, 1941. Grace graduated from high school in Hono-

lulu before the family returned to New London. There she met Jay Cohen while playing bridge at Jay's cousin's home. They were married in 1948. They moved to Alexandria in 1956. They were married almost 63 years before his passing in 2011. She is survived by their three children: Michael (Wanda) Cohen of Ashburn, VA, Richard Cohen of Oakton, VA and Deborah (John) Ball of Overland Park, KS. She also survived by their granddaughter, Samantha (Elliot) Buck, who they adored.

Grace was an avid bridge player being a Life Master since the mid-60's and a diehard original Capitals who rejoiced in their winning of the Stanley cup. Special thanks to the staff at the Landing and Goodwin Hospice for their care. In lieu of flowers, please consider donating to the Parkinson's Foundation, Social Action Fund at Agudas Achim Congregation or a charity of your choice.

Service will be held on Monday December 2 at 11 a.m. at Agudas Achim Congregation, 2908 Valley Drive, Alexandria, VA followed by interment at King David Memorial Gardens at 1 p.m. Zoom link for service is <https://us06web.zoom.us/j/82336692611?pwd=T-beq2Csp7m9XStlPa8t1uB8oiCQ.1>

## KELLY



**MOIRA KELLY**

August 23, 1948 - November 23, 2024. It is with great sadness that we announce the passing of Moira Kelly, (76). Moira was born on August 23, 1948, in Washington, DC to John and Anne Virginia Kelly.

She was a 1966 graduate of Walter Johnson High School in Rockville, MD. Moira was an advocate for four legged creatures, especially of the Jack Russell variety. She was an active member of the JRTC community. Moira began her career as file clerk at the Library of Congress in 1966. She worked for State, then settled in McLean, Virginia. Moira lived a life of tremendous passion for service to others as was evident in her support of many causes dear to her. In lieu of flowers donations can be made to [k9sforwarriors.org](mailto:k9sforwarriors.org)

Reath in Washington, DC. Moira was a friend to so many in the dog, horse and patent law community. Moira was known for being generous, witty and she loved to laugh. Moira lived life to the fullest and was always true to self.

Moira was preceded in death by her parents and her brother Donnell Kelly (Melissa) of Lewisburg, TN. Moira was also preceded in death by her grandparents who were of significant influence in her life, Richard and Gertrude Mulhern. Brooklyn NY. Moira is survived by her nieces Kathleen (Rob) Agnello of Lewiston, NY, Nelly Steagall (Greg Griffin) of Normandy, TN and Moira (Eric) Williams of Lewisburg, TN. She was also survived by her nephews Richard Mulhern Kelly of Lewisburg, TN, Billy Kelly of Normandy, TN and Mike (Misty) Williams of Shelbyville, TN. A special thank you to Hospice Compassus and her caretaker Amber Scott who supported Moira and the family in Moira's final journey of life. The family will be forever grateful for your compassion and dedication to Moira.

The family and special close friends will celebrate her life and spread her ashes at a date to be determined, per her wishes. Moira lived a life of tremendous passion for service to others as was evident in her support of many causes dear to her. In lieu of flowers donations can be made to [k9sforwarriors.org](mailto:k9sforwarriors.org) Bills McCaughy & Hamilton Funeral Home & Crematory is honored to assist the family with the arrangements.

## SCHMUKLER

## CLARINE SCHMUKLER

Clarine Schmukler passed away peacefully on November 20, 2024, in McLean, Virginia. Born Clarine Ada Shapiro on September 27, 1923 in Erie, Pennsylvania to Samuel and Lillian (Wexler) Shapiro, she became the first member of her family to attain a college degree, from Miami University of Ohio in 1944; she graduated Phi Beta Kappa. She went on to earn a Master's of Arts degree in sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. There she met her husband-to-be, PhD candidate and WWII veteran Sidney Schmukler. They were married in 1947, and were together just short of 70 years. After their marriage and graduations, they moved to Connecticut and then Iowa due to Sidney's academic career. In 1950, when Sidney took a position in the U.S. Department of State, they settled in McLean, Virginia, where they raised their three children. Between 1963 and 1966, the family moved to Lima, Peru, where Sidney was stationed as the First Economic Secretary in the U.S. Embassy and the Deputy Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development's

Mission. Afterwards, the family returned to McLean, Virginia. Clarine and Sidney were founding members of Temple Rodef Shalom in Falls Church, Virginia. Clarine was very active with the Democratic Party, a variety of political causes and social justice charity work, as well as a rich social life. Later in life, she and Sidney made many domestic and international trips, largely through Elderhostel (now Road Scholar)—they were lifelong learners. For the last seven years, she resided at Vinson Hall in McLean, where she remained engaged with politics, literature, her friends and her children until her very last days of her life. She is predeceased by her parents, sister Bernice Glick and brother Harvey Shapiro, and beloved husband Sidney. She is survived by her three children: Joan Atherton, Laurence Schmukler (Mariana Pardo), and Phil Harris (Erica Dunn), brother Dr. Melvyn Shapiro, numerous nieces and nephews and great nieces and nephews, and her friends. Her family expresses its gratitude to her caregivers. She will be missed. Service private.

## SCHUBERT

## IRENE LOUISE (KETTUNEN) SCHUBERT

IRENE SCHUBERT, age 85, of Fairfax County, Virginia, died at 3:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 17, 2024, with her husband Frank Nicholas "Mickey" Schubert and her son Max Edward Schubert at her side.

She was the daughter of Arthur and Aune (Hermanson) Kettunen. Born in Escanaba, Michigan, she spent most of her childhood on the Mesabi range in Minnesota and graduated from high school in Superior Wisconsin. She held a bachelor's degree from the State University of Wisconsin (Stout) and a master's degree in library science from the University of Denver.

After an apprenticeship in the Westminster, Colorado, public library, she was a reference librarian at the Universities of Wyoming and Toledo and head of reference at the University of Maryland's undergraduate library. From the early 1980s to her retire-

ment in 2002, she worked at the Library of Congress, first in Congressional Research Service, then as head of the Newspaper and Current Periodical reading room, and finally as chief of the Preservation Reformatting Division.

After retirement she and her husband of 55 years lived for a year in Romania, walked across Britain along Hadrian's Wall, and travelled around Europe while residing part-time in Győr, Hungary for sixteen years. She performed more than 2,000 hours of volunteer service at the Mount Vernon estate, mainly in the library. She is survived by her husband and two sons, Max Schubert of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Andrew Harris of Laguna Beach, California.

No funeral has been held and there are no plans for a memorial service at this time.

## VAUGHAN



**NANCY MARIE EVANS VAUGHAN**

Nancy Marie Evans Vaughan passed away October 30, 2024. Nancy was born in Illinois. Moving to Alexandria, VA with her family, Nancy graduated from Fort Hunt High School in 1966. She graduated from James Madison College in 1970 with a degree in Marketing. Nancy completed her Masters in Communication at American University. Upon graduation, she worked for US Air for 23 years

attaining the position of Director of Public Relations and Marketing. She then accepted the position of Director of Public Relations at Best Western International in Phoenix, Arizona. Upon leaving Best Western, Nancy established Vaughan Communications, serving diverse businesses and individuals. She taught public relations at Arlington State University's prestigious Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communications, and was an associate member and a Marco Polo winner of the Society of American Travel Writers. Nancy was a life member of the Fiesta Bowl assisting with media relations, and volunteered for the Cactus Bowl, Cheez-It Bowl, Buffalo Wild Wings Bowl, and Super Bowl XLIX. She visited over 50 countries, immersing herself in the culture everywhere she went. Nancy loved Phoenix, the AZ Cardinals and her dogs.

Nancy was preceded in death by her parents, Robert J. and Lorraine Evans, and leaves her sisters, Linda Banks; Kathleen Murray; Joan Korman and her brothers, John Evans; Michael Evans; 11 nieces and nephews and five great nieces and nephews. Her funeral Mass will be held January 17, 2025 at 10:30 a.m. at St. Mary's Catholic Church, 310 S. Royal St., Alexandria, VA 22314. Interment will follow at St. Mary's Cemetery.

## DEATH NOTICE

## NELSON

## BETTY MARILYN NELSON (Age 93)

Born on March 29, 1931 in Grundy Center, Iowa to the late Fred and Martha Hartke. She passed on November 19, 2024 in Woodbridge, VA at the age of 93. Betty graduated from Cedar Falls High School in Cedar Falls, Iowa and from the Pitiz Beauty School in Waterloo, Iowa and became a beauty salon owner at a young age. After moving to Virginia, she worked at House of Jannis Fabrics, Fort Belvoir Federal Credit Union and Future Farmers of American as a seamstress. Betty was an avid knitter and crocheter, along with being skilled in tatting and other needlework.

Betty is survived by her husband, Harold Nelson and brother Fred Hartke, Jr. She is the beloved mother of Bonnie Miller and Alice Nelson; grandmother of Timothy, Kirsten, Adam and Charles; great-grandmother of Jacob, David, Naomi, Isaiah, Seth and Brooke. Betty is preceded in death by her first husband, Norman Paulson; her son, Harold Nelson, Jr. and siblings Dorene Selleck, Frank Hartke and Ralph Hartke.

A graveside service will be held at Arlington National Cemetery at a later date. Please view and sign the family guestbook at [www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com](http://www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com)

## DEATH NOTICE

## NOONE

## ANITA FOMINAYA NOONE

Anita Fominaya Noone passed away peacefully on Sunday, October 27, 2024 at Savannah Square Assisted Living in Savannah, Georgia, where she had lived since 2018. Born in Seat Pleasant, Maryland on July 17, 1930, she was a 34 year resident of Chevy Chase, Maryland and moved to Toms Brook, Virginia upon her husband's retirement in 1988. Anita worked for the FBI, Department of Immigration, and Pitcon Wood Products in a variety of administrative roles. Her empathy for others, every-day joy of life, and, above all, her love of family were an inspiration to anyone who met her. Her Catholic faith guided her through many of life's challenges.

Anita is survived by her brother Rudolph Felix Fominaya. She was predeceased by the love of her life, husband Matthew Calnan Noone, to whom she was married 49 years until his passing in 2002. Anita is survived by her three children, Thomas Anthony Noone (Pascaqua, NJ), Anita Maria Noone, and Patricia Noone, (Randy Akers). In addition, she is survived by six grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.

A Mass of Christian Burial will be held at The Basilica of St. Mary, 310 South Royal Street, Alexandria, Virginia, on Thursday, December 19, 2024 at 10 a.m.

## BRYANS



**JOHN BRYANS**

7/21/1925 - 11/19/2024

John Bryans, age 99, of Falls Church, Virginia, died peacefully at his residence on November 19, 2024. Born in Marion, Ohio on July 21, 1925, he was the only son of Frances Kilbury Bryans and Ralph Armond Bryans. He graduated from Harding High School in Marion, Ohio. Bryans was drafted into the U.S. Army-Air Corps and was stationed at Wheeler Field, Hawaii. Following high school graduation, John worked for the Marion Star newspaper. Later, he was the editor for the base newspaper at Wheeler Field.

Following his military service, John attended the Ringling School of Art and the Burnsville Painting Classes where he was a student of Jerry Farnsworth and Frank Herring. His time at the mountains of western North Carolina later influenced him to cofound Painting in the Mountains, a summer painting school, with long-time business partner Everett Kivette. He maintained a private studio where he taught art to students of all ages, first in Arlington at Hills Art School and later in McLean, Virginia at the McLean Arts Center. He taught in northern Virginia for over 47 years. Mr. Bryans maintained membership in many local and national arts organizations. Mr. Bryans' paintings are displayed in museums and private collections throughout the country. Mr. Bryans was a founding member of Spectrum Gallery in Georgetown, Washington, DC.

John married Christina Sanders in 1961, a union of forty-nine years which ended with Christina's death in 2009. John and Christ-

na met in the Sanctuary Choir at Foundry Methodist Church in the Washington, DC, and shared a lifelong love of music. They enjoyed many activities together especially those related to church and to traveling. They were members of St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Arlington, VA and St. Thomas Episcopal Church in Burnsville, NC, where they enjoyed the home that they built on Phillips Knob Road. Together they visited Morocco, Russia, Italy, Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Canada. They enjoyed a cross-country train trip to visit some of America's national parks. Dad liked to "play in the dirt" and gardened at every opportunity. He had an impressive array of azaleas from around the world at his former residence in Arlington. At Goodwin House, he worked in the Knoll Garden and served on the landscape committee.

From the late 1990's through the early 2000's, Mr. Bryans served as a docent at the National Cathedral in Washington, DC. He became an expert on the Cathedral's architectural features, especially the stained-glass windows. John enjoyed teaching young people about the cathedral.

Mr. Bryans is survived by his daughter, Estelita Bryans, of Okemunk, AK; his son, Marshall Bryans, of Indianapolis, IN; two grandsons, Charles Jonathan Munson (Sarah Anouilh) of Fairfax, VA and Tyler Munson (Marissa Peck) of Williamsport, NY; a great grandson, Jackson, as well as several nieces and nephews. He was predeceased by his parents, Frances and Ralph Bryans, his wife Christina, sister Patricia Bryans Wygant, only cousin Barbara Ritzmann, his sisters-in-law Marcia Sanders and Emily Sanders, and brothers-in-law William Wygant and William Sanders.

A memorial service will be held in March 2025. In lieu of flowers, memorial gifts may be made to Goodwin Living Foundation – Resident Support Fund, 4800 Fillmore Avenue, Alexandria, VA 22311. Goodwinliving.org/giving/donate/ select Resident Support Fund from drop down menu. Alternatively, donations may be made to the Nature Conservancy (preserve.nature.org, select donate, select other ways to give, select memorial donations, complete the donation form).

Arrangements entrusted to Every Funeral Home and Cremation Services, Falls Church, VA.

[www.everyfuneralhome.com](http://www.everyfuneralhome.com)

## PHILLIPS



**PAUL WAYNE PHILLIPS**

Paul Wayne Phillips, age 82, of Falls Church, VA, died on October 24, 2024. He was born on November 26, 1941 in Sedalia, Missouri and was the son of Jewel Evelyn (Shackelford) and Noah Washington Phillips. His father worked for the M&T Railroad and his mother was a homemaker.

He graduated from the University of Missouri at Kansas City School of Law and was admitted to the Missouri Bar Association in 1969. From 1970 to 1981, he worked in various capacities for the Missouri Public Service Commission including as General Counsel. From 1981 to 2007, when he retired, he was an attorney and lastly Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Interventions and

Power Marketing for the United States Department of Energy. He was an active member of the Lewinsville Presbyterian Church in McLean, VA and served in many leadership roles until became ill in 2019. Paul was an avid computer and electronics user. He loved to travel, especially to England, and had a passion for all things British. He was a consummate reader with widely varied interests. His parents and twin brother, James Noah Phillips preceded him in death. He is survived by his wife of 53 years, Rosalind Ann Wayne Phillips, whom he married on December 12, 1970; his daughter, Laura Wayne Phillips; his nephews, Stephen, James, and Carl Barghaan, Jr.; his granddaughter, Ashley Elizabeth Barghaan; his sister, Martha Sullivan (Gary); nieces Cheryl Liles and Lisa Rysa and great nieces and nephews.

Following private interment on November 1, 2024, a service of celebration and Witness to the Resurrection was held at the Lewinsville Presbyterian Church on November 11, 2024. The family suggests that memorials in the name of Paul be made to the Lewinsville Presbyterian Church Foundation, 1724 Chain Bridge Road, McLean, Virginia 22101. To share condolences with the family or for more information please visit:

[www.murphyfuneralhomes.com](http://www.murphyfuneralhomes.com)



## STORK



**JOSEPH STORK**

1943 – 2024

Joe Stork, a renowned human rights advocate, activist and tireless worker for social justice, died unexpectedly at home in Washington, DC, on October 23, 2024. He was 81. Joe was a person of character, integrity, humor and courage; a lover of literature, a talented musician, and a "girl-dad" extraordinaire to his three daughters. He was a wholehearted partner with his late wife Priscilla Norris, and the stalwart point man to seven far-flung but tight-knit young-er siblings.

Joe was a major figure in Middle East reporting and analysis. Over a span of thirty years at Human Rights Watch (HRW), he served as advocacy director and later deputy director of the Middle East and North Africa division, documenting abuses throughout the region and contributing extensively to ground-level reporting on Israel/Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and the Gulf states. He was a lifelong advocate for the rights of Palestinians, a tenacious investigator with a deep understanding of the region and its issues, and a mentor and friend to colleagues and activists throughout the region.

Joe joined the first contingent of Peace Corps Volunteers in 1964 spending two years in Tokat, Turkey teaching English. After earning a Master's in International Relations from Eastern Studies at Columbia University, he cofounded the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP). From 1971 to 1995, he was chief editor of its magazine, Middle East Report, which re-

mains the longest-running progressive publication in the region. His knowledge, background and expertise in the Middle East and North Africa were widely recognized. He testified numerous times before congressional committees, including on human rights conditions in Bahrain during the government's violent crackdown on pro-democracy protests in 2011, but he preferred to be in the field working with local activists. He was exhilarated to be in Cairo when the Arab Spring, the pro-democracy and anti-corruption protests that spread across the region, broke loose.

Joe and Priscilla's home was legendary for its hospitality, a way station for colleagues, relatives and friends who, on any given night, could find a salon of diverse fellow travelers, fabulous food, conversation and music. He was a warm, generous, and person whose knowledge and love of music spanned genres and instruments. He had a special love of Irish music. In the 1970s, he sang and played acoustic bass with the Fast Flying Vespertines (FV), an eclectic old-time string band. Bandmate Terence Winch recalled his "keen intelligence, big heart, sense of humor and musical talent ... He

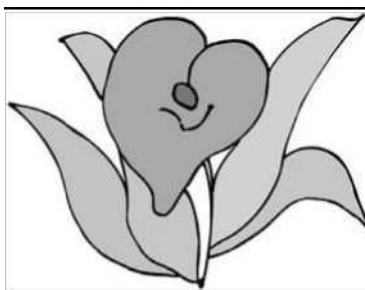


DEATH NOTICE  
OSBORNE

**CAROLYN MARIE OSBORNE**  
Carolyn Marie Osborne, of Bethesda Maryland, passed away on November 12, 2024. A native of Buffalo, New York, Carolyn was born on October 4, 1943, the only child of Henry and Florence Osborne. She graduated from the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1965 and then taught Biology and Zoology at Rosary Hill College (now Daemen University). In 1969 she became a leader in the Experiment in International Living, an association which led her to extensive foreign travel and life-long friendships, especially in Sweden and France. After returning to the US, Carolyn earned a Master's Degree in Education from Harvard and a PhD in Biology from Yale University. She retired from 30 years of government service in 2010, having served in the Food and Drug Administration and the Department of Energy where she helped implement the National Environmental Policy Act. Carolyn was a concerned environmentalist and an avid lover of nature. She enjoyed birding, hiking and gardening. She had an unquenchable curiosity and explored a variety of endeavors: studying French, becoming a serious pianist, and volunteering as a Docent at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History and at the National Zoo. She enjoyed imparting her knowledge and enthusiasm to others and was a faithful contributor to her Sonoma neighborhood and the Bradley Hills Village. An avid reader, she participated in the Village's book club as well as the Harvard Alumni Book Club. Being a single child, she made herself a family of sisters and brothers that extended nationwide and to other parts of the world. Service scheduled for a later date. Donations in her memory can be made to the Humane Society of Montgomery County or to A Wider Circle.

REIDY

**PATRICIA JOHNSTON REIDY (Age 96)**  
On Monday, November 25, 2024 of Bethesda, MD formerly of Kensington, MD. Loving wife of the late Gerald Reidy of 49 years. Beloved mother of Anne Marie (Seth), James (Judith), Susan (Peter), Patricia (Shawn), Daniel (Janet), Thomas (Patricia), and John (Catherine). Grandmother of 16 and great grandmother of two. Family and friends will be received at PUMPHREY'S BETHESDA-CHEYE CHASE FUNERAL HOME, 7557 Wisconsin Avenue, Bethesda, MD 20814 on Tuesday, December 3, 4 to 6 p.m. Family and friends will also be received at Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, 9705 Summit Avenue, Kensington, MD on Wednesday, December 4, from 10 a.m. until time of Mass of Christian Burial at 11 a.m. Interment at Gate of Heaven Cemetery. Please view and sign the family guestbook at [www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com](http://www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com)



DEATH NOTICE  
VERMILLION



**STEPHEN PATRICK VERMILLION (Age 81)**  
Born on December 29, 1942 in Alexandria, VA, Steve went peacefully to Heaven on November 25, 2024. He is survived by sons Stephen Jr. (Nancy), Sean (Helen), Brent (Cindy), daughters Ameri (Dave) and Leslie (Louie), brother James Vermillion, nine grandchildren, and many cousins, nieces, nephews, in-laws, and friends. He was preceded in death by wife Donna and grandchild Koda. A memorial service will be held on December 14, 2024 at 2 p.m. at Reality Church, 5937 Franconia Road, Alexandria, VA 22310. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to a charity of your choice.

DEATH NOTICE

BOWMAN



**MARY KAY BOWMAN**  
Mary "Kay" Bowman passed away on Tuesday, November 26, 2024, in her home in Bethesda, MD after fighting tenaciously for years with lung cancer. She was surrounded by her family and friends in her final days. Born in 1949 in Kittanning, Pennsylvania to Josephine and Homer Rickett, Kay was a proud graduate of the University of Maryland, College Park, where she received a bachelor's degree in Comparative Literature, a master's degree in library science, and became a lifelong fan of the Maryland Terps. Kay recently retired from Montgomery County Public Libraries where she worked for over 30 years as Branch Manager of the Aspen Hill, Davis and Bethesda libraries and,

DEATH NOTICE  
WHITLOW



**DORETHEA WHITLOW**  
Entered eternal rest, on November 14, 2024. She is survived by her son Byron Raney (and his wife Monica); one granddaughter Grace; and a host of relatives and friends. A family gathering will be held on Wednesday, December 4, 2024, at Ebenezer A.M. Church, 7806 Alemdown Road, Fort Washington, MD 20744, at 10 a.m.. Funeral service to follow at 11 a.m. Interment, Cedar Hill Cemetery, Suitland, MD.

IN MEMORIAM

MOLLI



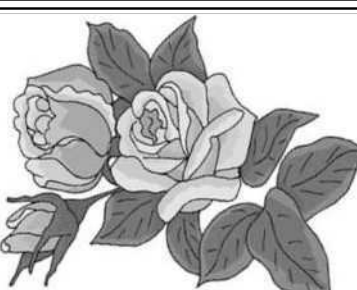
**MARY LOU MOLLI**  
**Ten Years**  
Thanksgiving Day  
Thursday, November 27, 2014  
You are constantly in our thoughts and prayers.  
You live on in our hearts.  
**Your Loving Husband, Rick**  
**Your Loving Family: Rick (Paula), Phil (Karen)**  
**Grandchildren: Jeremy, Devin, Van, Kitt, Freckles**  
Beloved sister, godmother and aunt held close in our hearts.  
**Marilyn (Molli) Valdez, Mark Molli, John Molli, Lisa (Molli) Tierney and Family**

DEATH NOTICE

BUTLER



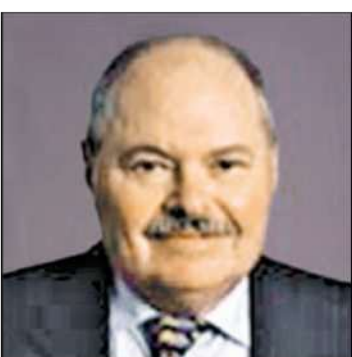
**DONALD IGNATIUS BUTLER JR.**  
Donald Ignatius Butler, Jr. departed peacefully on November 23, 2024 at Sunrise on Connecticut Ave in Washington, DC. A graveside service will be held on Tuesday December 3, 2024 at 11 a.m. at Mount Olivet Cemetery, 1300 Bladensburg Rd. NE, Washington, DC 20002. His memory will live in our hearts forever.  
[www.mcguire-services.com](http://www.mcguire-services.com)



DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

FISKEN



**BERNARD JOSEPH FISKEN**  
In loving memory of Bernard Joseph Fisksen, who died November 16, 2024, of a stroke he suffered on October 27. Bernie was born on August 31, 1938 in Boston, MA. He was the son of Harry David Fisksen and Ruth Zipori Fisksen, both immigrated from the Ukraine and Belarus, respectively. Because of his upbringing, he was proud to say he "lived the American Dream". Bernie graduated from Boston Latin School in 1956 and he joined the US Army and became a Military Policeman and afterwards he returned to Boston and worked during the day and put himself through Bentley College at night, majoring in accounting. Bernie graduated Magna Cum Laude from

DEATH NOTICE

Bentley in 1961. Bernie then joined the US Peace Corps and worked with a banished Inca tribe, the Salasaca, in Ambato, Ecuador. In 1964, he returned to the US and was awarded a full scholarship to attend Wharton Business School at the University of Pennsylvania. He completed his Wharton "practicum" in East Palo Alto, CA, where Bernie met and married Kathleen Curtis and they moved to San Francisco. After he Bernie worked for the Treasury Departments of both countries. In 1979, Bernie founded Fisksen & Company, a firm that specialized in financial consulting and expatriate taxation. He and his wife worked alongside each other for decades and then in 2000, Fisksen & Company merged with Gelman, Rosenberg & Freedman, CPA's. Bernie traveled to the far parts of the world working with international nonprofits and with host country governments. Bernie loved languages and he loved to test his vocabulary on anyone who would listen. But there was not anything in life he loved more than his family, and if he loved you, you knew it. Bernie is survived by the love of his life, Kathleen (Katie); and two sons, Nik (Leslie PLOWMAN) and Alex (Meg Giles); five grandchildren and many other relatives. A Memorial Celebration is planned for next spring. In lieu of flowers, the family requests contributions in Bernie's memory be directed to: Partners in Health, [www.pih.org](http://www.pih.org) and Save the Children, [www.savethechildren.org](http://www.savethechildren.org). Please go to: [www.moneyandking.com/current-oblituaries/](http://www.moneyandking.com/current-oblituaries/) for Bernie's full Obituary.

GRISHKOVA-EDEN



**ANNA GRISHKOVA-EDEN**  
Anna Grishkova-Eden, 69, of Woodbridge, Virginia passed away unexpectedly on November 4, 2024 at Shiley Memorial Hospital in Washington, DC. Anna was born in Moscow Russia on December 5, 1954 to Phillip Vasilenko and Tamara Afonina. She excelled in the study of chemistry achieving a PhD. She was a Textile Conservator and worked in places like the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Museo de la Revolucion in Havana, Indiana State Museum, Textile Museum of Washington, DC as well as having

her own textile conservation practice. Anna emigrated to the USA in her mid-forties and became a proud citizen in 2002. She embodied strength and courage as she set out on a new path, new language and new opportunities in the new country she grew to love. She always honored her Russian heritage. Anna was an adventurous and confident woman that travelled the world with her husband and occasionally solo to many of the places she wanted to see and experience - Japan, Egypt, Norway, Iceland, Shetland Islands, Chile and Easter Island. She was also a huge fan of mystery novels and audio books.

Anna is survived by her loving husband James; her daughter Ksenia, son-in-law Ron; two adored grandchildren Olivia and Nathan; step-sons Jeffrey and Lee; her brother Peter and his family in Moscow; cousin Marina in St-Petersburg with whom she never lost contact. She is also survived by the many friends she made during her daily walks in the neighborhood.

She was a gentle, kind and loving woman and will be missed by all who knew her. There will be a private gathering to celebrate her extraordinary life! She will be laid to rest at a later date in Arlington National Cemetery among those many heroes of other kinds of battles.

GRUM



**ALLEN FREDERICK GRUM**  
**BRIGADIER GENERAL, U.S. ARMY (RET.)**  
Brigadier General (Retired) Allen "Al" Frederick Grum, aged 93, passed away peacefully on October 17, 2024 at Riderwood Village, Silver Spring, MD. The oldest child, Al was born on October 6, 1931 at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center to his father, Major Allen Ferdinand Grum, and mother, Nathalie Cate Grum. As an Army Brat, the family moved often, but Al's formative years were spent in San Antonio, where his father was stationed. He attended Thomas Jefferson High School alongside his brother Clifford Grum and sister Sue (Grum) Redding. Al received a nomination to the United States Military Academy at West Point and graduated at the top of his class in 1953. He was commissioned into the Engineer Corps, and served in Korea, France, Germany, Vietnam, and various stateside assignments. Along the way, he earned a master's degree at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a PhD at Stanford University. His final assignment was the Head of the Engineering Department at the Academy. While stationed at Fort Campbell KY, Al met his future wife, Sydney Jane Patterson, on a blind date. She was a nursing student at Vanderbilt University, and they were married shortly thereafter in 1956 in Aiken, SC. Early in their marriage, they travelled throughout Europe in a VW bug while stationed in Bordeaux France and then Heidelberg Germany. They returned to West Point briefly, and then Jane moved their five young children to Aiken SC while Al was in Vietnam leading an Engineer battalion. The couple made numerous moves during Al's 34-year career, and at all stops along the way, kept an open door, open arms and open hearts to their many military friends. After his retirement from the Army in 1987, Al's next career combined his two passions: Teaching and Service to his country. Al, with Jane by his side, took on the challenge of starting a new Engineering school at Mercer University, in Macon, GA. Al and Jane spent many happy years there, and his influence on the students he taught is immeasurable. He was also an active member of the Army Science Board and while on sabbatical worked at the Army Research Labs in Adelphi, MD and Raleigh, NC mentoring teams of world renowned scientists doing critical research for the military. Al and Jane eventually retired from Mercer University and moved to Atlanta, GA, before their final move to Riderwood Village in Silver Spring, MD. They enjoyed travelling, taking cruises throughout the world, and the company of their children, eight grandchildren and two great grandchildren. Al is preceded in death by his parents, Major Allen Ferdinand Grum and Mrs. Nathalie Cate Grum, as well as his brother, Clifford Grum. He is survived by his sister, Sue Redding; his wife, Jane Patterson Grum; and his children, Allen "Pete" Grum Jr (Jessica Grum), David Grum, Pat Grum (Mary Grum), Colonel (Ret.) Stacey Grum Koff (Jonathan Koff) and COL (Ret.) Carrie (Grum) Benton (RADM (Ret.) Bruce Doll). His grandchildren include: Catey Grum, Jennifer Grum, Isabelle Koff, Matthew Koff, Sydney Benton, Specialist Charlie Benton (Rielly Benton), Captain Maxwell Grum, Nathaniel Grum, and Ian Grum. His great grandchildren include Atlas Benton and Jay Benton. He will be remembered for his significant career accomplishments and his patriotism, but more so for his love of his family, especially his wife Jane, his wonderful sense of humor, and the relationships he forged and cultivated throughout his long life. Al has a military burial at West Point on February 13, 2025. In lieu of flowers, the family asks that donations be made to the Fisher House Foundation (<https://www.fisherhouse.org/>) in support of military families.

HAYDEN



**JOHN TERRELL HAYDEN**  
John Terrell Hayden died peacefully in hospice care at UCSF Hospital on Wednesday, October 9, 2024. He was 76 years old. He was born in Washington, DC to Ethel Carter and Albert Courtney Hayden. John had a brother Courtney who predeceased him. He attended Annunciation Catholic grade school and then went on to St. John's College High School, both in D.C. It was at St. John's that he discovered his love of theater and appeared in several musical productions. He had a beautiful singing voice and delivered an outstanding performance there as Nicely Nicely Johnson in Guys and Dolls.

John had his heart set on attending Boston College, and only Boston College. He was so excited when he was accepted. He continued his theatrical performances there and also loved B.C. football. He was a lifelong fan and watched every game he could and recorded all the results year after year. After John graduated, he set his sights on law school. He graduated from UCLA Law School, and made Law Review, which was a prestigious honor. He loved the West Coast and the proximity to so many National Parks and decided to make his home in California. He accepted a position with Littler Mend-

son, P.C., a corporate law firm in San Francisco. He eventually made partner before he retired.

Even while working, John found time to appear in local musical productions in the Berkeley, CA area where he lived. He was very modest and told few people about his endeavors. Imagine their surprise when colleagues went to a play and saw John in it. He also became successful in the real estate world and bought properties and condos in vacation destinations such as Lake Tahoe, Palm Springs, and Hawaii among others. He loved to travel all over the world, and on a trip to Africa, he climbed to the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro.

John loved the outdoors and originally spent his weekends playing tennis at local public courts with friends he would meet there and became a very good tennis player. But when he discovered hiking, it was no real surprise that he switched over completely and joined the San Francisco Hiking Club. At Harvard, many friends there and whenever someone was struggling with a hike, it was always John who assisted them, earning him the honorary title "Saint John." Each summer he hosted a pool and cookout party at his beautiful second home in Lafayette, CA for the entire club. As it turned out, he loved gardening and landscaping too, and his terraced backyard at Lafayette was a thing of beauty.

John is survived by his cousins Zoe Ann Vest, Patricia Reagan, Trella Sardo, and their children. John had many friends and was a kind yet private person, and never wished to inconvenience anyone in any way. So although no service is scheduled, I'm sure he would like it if at your convenience, you dropped by Cedar Hill Cemetery in Suitland, MD and visited. In lieu of flowers, please make a donation to one of two musical theater organizations where John performed and loved, Woodminster Summer Musicals, or the Bay Area Musical Theatre Play, in San Rafael, CA. No Services at this time.

When the need arises,  
let families find you in the  
Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory,  
please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

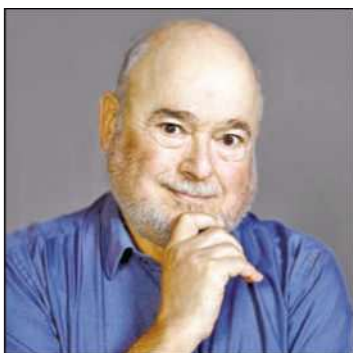
RYAN



**TIMOTHY E. RYAN SR.**  
On Tuesday, November 26, 2024, the world lost an amazing man. While our hearts are currently heavy, we are eternally grateful to have had him as a father, father-in-law, grandfather, uncle, brother-in-law, and friend. He was a dedicated family man that set an example of love, strength, responsibility, and joy of life that any would be lucky to have. If you knew Tim, at some point your life breathed easier for it. Throughout his life if there was a need for help, he was there; Serving as commissioner, president, treasurer, and reliable volunteer for numerous civic, political, religious, school,

and youth sports organizations; Coach Tim was there for countless children in the local basketball and baseball leagues; and when there was a family event or member in need he was there regardless of the location on the east coast. But he was not only generous with his time. Three quarters of his mail comes from the numerous organizations that could count on his yearly donations to the cause he believed in: feeding the homeless, first responders, wounded veterans, children's hospital, and cancer research to name a few. He was a lover of Doo Wop music, dancing, sports, traveling all over the world, live music, a sharp suit, a good meal, a fine wine, a well-made Manhattan, and the occasional handful of chocolate chips with a jar of peanut butter. While doing all these things, even while battling cancer, he was forever positive with a quick wit and a dry sense of humor. He even left us with some gems in his final days. Above all of this, he was Pappy. And he was whatever was needed at the time to his children, their spouses, and his 11 grandchildren. He will be missed greatly by so many. We love you Pappy. Do your best. Don't get in any trouble. There will be viewings on Tuesday, December 3. Church and burial services will be held on Wednesday, December 4. Service information and full obituary can be found at the Demics Funeral Home web site: <https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/ies12108854>.

SILVER



**ARTHUR D. SILVER**  
"If you are reading this, I am dead and you are not."

Arthur D. Silver, of Bethesda, MD, died on November 24, 2024, at 82. Beloved and devoted husband of 30 years to Robin Rittenhoff, he also leaves behind many brothers- and sisters-in-law, cousins, three generations of nieces and nephews, and friends. His web of kith and kin — including an entire Nepali chosen family, and several brothers-from-other-mothers — was wide

and, like Arthur himself, defied easy categorization. Born on in the Bronx to Maurice and Dorothy (Davis) Silver, Arthur was predeceased by his elder sister Tina Lorriss and their parents. He attended Bronx High School of Science, Cornell, and University of Chicago. Arthur served a long career as an international development officer with postings in Somalia, Pakistan, Guatemala, Nepal, and DC. In retirement, Arthur did good works for the infirmed and impoverished, and served as a Montgomery Co. Election Judge. He loved traveling the world, attending theatre and music festivals, spoiling his cat, and walking the entire 134-mile C&O Canal with Robin. Arthur was a voracious reader with a particular love of murder mysteries, and an avid New York Times crossword puzzler, using only ink and not deigning to bother until at least Thursday. All who knew Arthur have stories of his wit, smarts, compassion, commitment to social justice and civic duty, love of adventure and dining, and penchant for puns. But above all was Arthur's love of family and friends, and his ability to maintain relationships over many decades and miles. Arrangements by Hines-Rinaldi Funeral Home Inc. under Jewish Funeral Practices Committee of Greater Washington Contract. Services will be held in lieu of flowers please donate to the ACLU.  
[www.hinesrinaldifuneralhome.com](http://www.hinesrinaldifuneralhome.com)

SMITH



**FRED LEE SMITH JR.**  
The venerable Fred Lee Smith, Jr. of Washington, DC and Cobb Island, Maryland, died at his home on November 23, 2024, after an acute illness. He was born December 26, 1940, in Mobile, Alabama and raised in rural Sixth Ward, near Slidell, Louisiana. The eldest of five children born to Fred Lee Smith and Bernice Wainwright Smith, Fred took an early interest in individual liberty and human rights. In 1984, Fred founded the Competitive Enterprise Institute, one of the first public policy groups addressing regulatory overreach. After serving as president through 2012, Fred executed a smooth succession and became the director of CEI's Center for Advancing Capitalism. Before founding CEI, Fred was government relations director at the Council for a Competitive Economy, senior economist at the Association of American Railroads, and senior policy analyst at the Environmental Protection Agency for five years. Regulatory economics became as much a calling card as his enthusiasm for finding, assimilating, and sharing ideas. Fred earned a B.S. degree in theoretical math and political science from Tulane University, where he earned the highest academic honor, the Arts and Sciences Medal, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. At Harvard University, he received a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship for graduate study in theoretical mathematics. He also did graduate work in applied mathematics and economics at the University of Pennsylvania and SUNY at Buffalo. While in New York, he applied Bayesian search techniques to anti-submarine warfare in his work at Cornell

Aeronautical Laboratory, which became a widely used technique. Fred distinguished himself most with his insatiable curiosity, infectious joy, and love he carried with him. He was always striving to learn about more things, including the lives and hopes of people around him. Human dignity and the question of how to help as many people as possible experience it was one of Fred's driving forces. In practice, this meant that Fred would talk to anyone about anything, practically anywhere and always respected their perspective. Fred was listening, but not passive. He engaged with other people's ideas because he respected them enough to take their ideas seriously. He expected others to examine their ideas critically, too, to defend their positions. There were strong themes in the gospels of Fred Smith — the overlapping ideas of the moral dignity found in individual worth, the acknowledgement of powerful disruptions in life due to forces beyond one's control, and the importance of clear, economic thinking about the reality of the world around us. As a good friend quipped at his 65th birthday roast and many friends have repeated since, Fred's steady flow of ideas could hit you like a blast from a firehose. Fred spoke quickly, thought more quickly, and engaged in debate like an electric charge was forever running through his body noticeable from the ever-present twinkle in his eye when he found an audience. Fred leaves behind his wife of 61 years, Frances Bivona Smith, his brothers, John Patrick Smith of Washington, DC and Aaron Wainwright Smith of Cheverly, MD; and his sister, Mary Helen Oliver of Lafayette, LA. His brother, Charles Smith, predeceased him. He also leaves behind nieces and nephews: David, Jennifer, and Shannon Powell; the Doherty, of Lafayette, LA; Bridget Powell of Arlington, TX; Thomas L. Powell IV, of Lafayette, LA and Dallas, TX; Mark Powell of Decatur, AL; James V. Mullins of Coral Springs, FL; Elizabeth Mullins of Vero Beach, FL; Kimberly Galt of Jacksonville, FL; and several U.S. Virgin Islands; Kori Rae Lilly of LA; Andy Andersen of New York, NY; Brandon Smith of Staunton, VA; and Christopher Smith of Ames, Iowa. The family thank and commend his caregivers. As hard as his life so much as he enjoyed: James Lancaster, Steven Blackstone, Lora Alvey Hayden, Angela White and Cheryl Goldsmith. Special thanks to Hospice of the Chesapeake, who cared for Fred during his last week at home. Plans for a memorial service will be announced after the holidays.

WHIPPLE



**THOMAS S. WHIPPLE**  
Thomas S. Whipple died of cancer on November 18, 2024, surrounded by his family, born April 13, 1938, in New York City to Thomas Thilo and Harriett Sample Whipple. Tom grew up as an only child in Scarsdale, NY, attended the Edgemont School, and graduated from Bronxville High School. He graduated from Rice Institute (now University) and earned an M.A. from the School of International Service at American University followed by Doctoral studies at the London School of Economics. In 1960 he married Mary Margaret Whipple (née Hierth), with whom he shared 64 happy years of marriage and two daughters. He is survived by Mary Margaret and his daughters Beth Michiel-Grote (Greg) and Margie Kelleher (Brian). He was also lovingly known as "Lord Thomas" by his five grandchildren: Tyler (Jenna), Kyle (Molly), Brandon (Almee Minard), Madeline (Dan Brown) and Katherine, and four great-grandchildren. He is also survived by his sister-in-law Sue Crawford (Jim). His happiest days were spent at the family cottage in Ontario, Canada where he went nearly every summer of his life and maintained life-long friendships. He built his first motorboat when he was 14, always going as fast as he could, raced in his sailboat, managed never-ending projects, and loved spending time with family and friends. Tom spent most of his life in public service, working for the United States government and later volunteering his time and talents to a variety of causes. After serving a tour of duty in the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, he spent a 30-year career as an analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency. He took the lead in modernizing the technology of the Agency's Operations Center at the time of rapid change and guided the training of a generation of Agency analysts. Tom earned his private pilot license as a young adult and maintained the hobby for many years. He became a flight instructor and was a co-pilot for a charter air taxi service on the weekends. Ever curious, he delighted in learning new things and then teaching others, earning him the title of "Professor" from friends. His favorite topics included emerging technology, politics, and energy issues, interests which he pursued and shared with others in his retirement. Always innovative, he was an early adopter of the internet and started a daily e-mail of Virginia's political and government news that went to thousands of interested readers. For nearly 20 years he got it up at 4 a.m. every day to prepare and send it out. The VaNews, or "the Whipple Clips", was immensely popular and was featured in a Washington Post article. It is now in the hands of the Virginia Public Access Project, which continues to produce it for free for a much-expanded audience. Concerned about the environment and energy issues, he became a frequent contributor to the "Peak Oil News", a publication of the Association for the Study of Peak Oil (ASPO) — USA. He wrote a weekly column on the energy crisis for the Falls Church News-Press and was a Fellow of the Post-Carbon Institute. For many decades he also volunteered for Arlington Democrats, using early technology to automate processes for the Democratic Party of Virginia. He started the volunteer Campaign Support Center, for which he was named a "Top Campaign Volunteer" of the Year. He was honored as a Distinguished Democrat by the Arlington Democrats in 2021. A long-time member, trustee, and Elder of Church of the Covenant, Presbyterian, in Arlington, he became a flight instructor in held December 7 at 2 p.m. at the church, 2666 Military Road. Visitation will be December 6, 5:30 to 7:30 p.m., at Murphy's Funeral Home, 4510 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, VA. Donations in his memory may be made to the Virginia Public Access Project at VPAP.org or mailed to P.O. Box 1472, Richmond, VA 23218.

POST YOUR CONDOLENCES

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The Washington Post



**JUDITH ANN BROWN BRACKEN**  
The Bracken family mourns the passing of Judith Ann Brown Bracken, who died on November 25, 2024, at age 89. Judith was born in New Haven, Connecticut on October 17, 1935 to Fred and Isabel (Maguire) Brown. She graduated from East Haven High School and joined the phone company. Two years later Judy met James Bracken, also of New Haven, just before he

was heading to Officer Candidates School for the Marine Corps. Jim and Judy forged an exciting life, moving often, with Jim making the Corps a 26 year career, before settling in Alexandria, VA. In the mid-1970s, Judy began working at Sherwood Regional Library in Alexandria where she remained a mainstay for over 30 years.

Jim and Judy were married 64 years, with Jim passing away in January 2022. Together they raised three sons: Stephen (Maure), David (Paula) and Matthew (Anne). With 10 grandchildren - Conor (Rachel), Mariah (Justin), Julia (Brendan), Emiline (Joan), Maeve (Reid), Emma, Patrick, Rory, Reese, and Max. Judy had three great granddaughters - Everett, Farah, and June, and one great-grandson - Wesley. Judy was the eldest of six siblings; the five survive her - Barbara, Jovita, Jean, Geraldine, and Thomas.

In lieu of flowers, please consider a donation to the memory of Judy; the family recommends one of her favorite charities - Habitat for Humanity.

A mass will be held on Friday, January 10, 2025, at 11 a.m. at Blessed Sacrament Church in Alexandria, 1427 W. Bradstone Road, Alexandria, VA to celebrate the life of Judith Ann Brown Bracken.



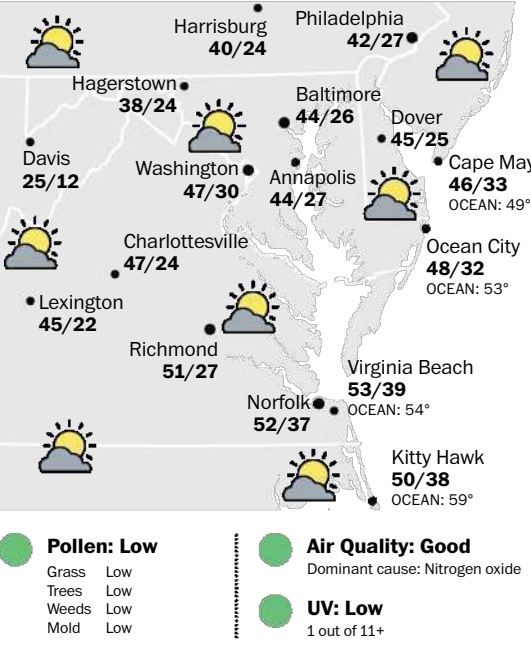
THE WEATHER

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Precipitation’s scant chance

Perhaps one or two rounds of sprinkles, flurries, snow showers and/or rain showers — but chances remain very low. Accumulation is very unlikely, with high temperatures near 40 to the mid-40s. Skies are a mix of sun and clouds as another cold front approaches.

REGION



**Blue Ridge:** Today, partly sunny, very cold. High 26 to 30. Winds west-southwest 10–20 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy; a snow shower in spots in southern parts. Low 17 to 21. Winds west-northwest 7–14 mph. Monday, mostly sunny, very cold. High 20 to 24.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, partly sunny. High 44 to 52. Winds west-southwest 10–20 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy; a snow shower in spots in southern parts. Low 17 to 21. Winds northwest 7–14 mph. Monday, mostly sunny, chilly. High 40 to 44. Winds northwest 8–16 mph.

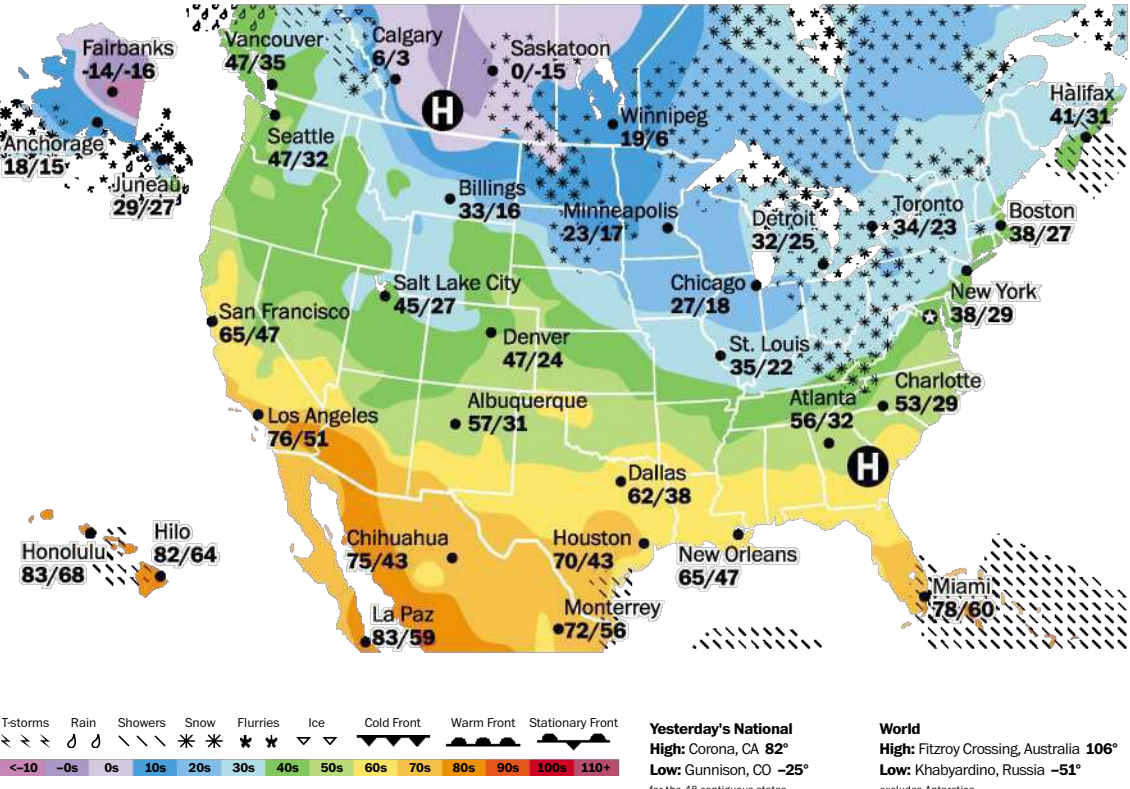
**Waterways:** *Upper Potomac River:* Today, sun, some clouds. Wind southwest 4–8 knots. Waves 2 feet or less. Visibility generally clear. *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, partly sunny. Wind southwest 8–16 knots. Waves 1–2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 1–3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.90 feet today, rising to 3.10 Monday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

**Today's tides** (High tides in **Bold**)

	2:45 a.m.	<b>8:00 a.m.</b>	2:28 p.m.	<b>8:03 p.m.</b>
Washington				
Annapolis	<b>4:19 a.m.</b>	10:42 a.m.	<b>5:40 p.m.</b>	none
Ocean City	12:45 a.m.	<b>7:12 a.m.</b>	1:38 p.m.	<b>7:27 p.m.</b>
Norfolk	2:45 a.m.	<b>9:15 a.m.</b>	3:42 p.m.	<b>9:32 p.m.</b>
Point Lookout	<b>12:36 a.m.</b>	6:08 a.m.	<b>1:25 p.m.</b>	8:37 p.m.

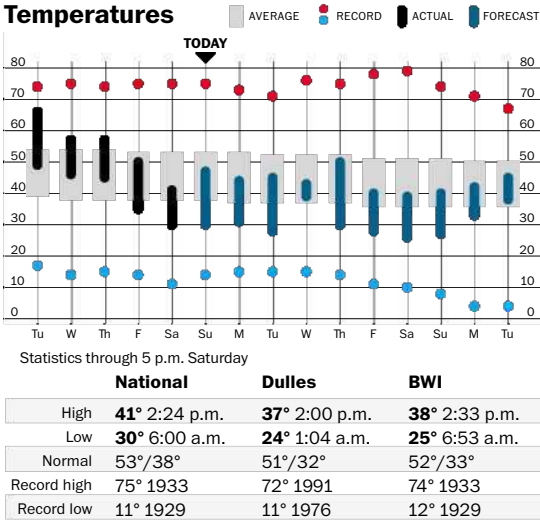
<b>Today</b> Partly cloudy  <b>47°</b> 30° FEELS*: 39° CHNCE PRECIP: 20% WIND: SW 10–20 mph HUMIDITY: Low	<b>Monday</b> Mostly sunny  <b>44°</b> 31° FEELS: 40° P: 5% W: WNW 7–14 mph H: Low	<b>Tuesday</b> Mostly sunny  <b>45°</b> 28° FEELS: 40° P: 5% W: NW 8–16 mph H: Low	<b>Wednesday</b> Increasingly windy  <b>43°</b> 39° FEELS: 30° P: 25% W: SSW 10–20 mph H: Low	<b>Thursday</b> Windy with some sun  <b>50°</b> 30° FEELS: 40° P: 10% W: WNW 12–25 mph H: Low	<b>Friday</b> Partly sunny and cold  <b>40°</b> 28° FEELS: 31° P: 10% W: NW 10–20 mph H: Low
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NATION

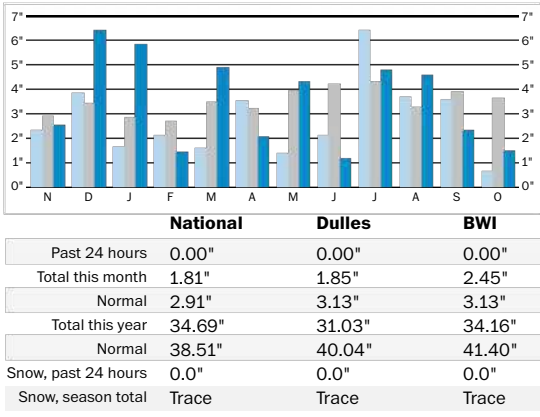


NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	27/18/pc	25/13/pc	Oklahoma City	55/32/s	52/26/s	WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	35/21/c	35/20/sf	Detroit	32/25/sf	37/23/pc	Omaha	29/17/c	25/16/pc	Addis Ababa	75/43/s	76/42/s
Albuquerque	57/31/s	57/31/s	El Paso	68/41/s	68/42/pc	Orlando	70/46/s	68/42/s	Amsterdam	47/44/c	53/40/r
Anchorage	18/15/pc	20/15/pc	Fairbanks, AK	-14/-16/s	-11/-14/s	Philadelphia	42/27/pc	41/29/s	Athens	64/50/sh	58/52/sh
Atlanta	56/32/pc	50/28/s	Fargo, ND	16/11/sf	16/11/c	Phoenix	79/51/s	80/53/s	Auckland	69/59/s	74/59/pc
Austin	71/40/c	67/45/pc	Hartford, CT	41/21/pc	43/23/pc	Pittsburgh	31/23/sf	32/25/sf	Baghdad	67/36/s	67/35/c
Baltimore	44/26/pc	41/26/s	Honolulu	83/68/s	84/67/s	Portland, ME	38/22/s	37/22/s	Bangkok	91/72/s	93/74/pc
Billings, MT	33/16/pc	46/35/s	Houston	70/43/pc	68/45/s	Portland, OR	49/32/pc	48/32/sf	Beijing	58/30/pc	43/16/c
Birmingham	57/28/pc	51/26/s	Indianapolis	29/17/s	30/18/pc	Providence, RI	39/23/s	41/24/s	Berlin	40/30/s	45/41/c
Bismarck, ND	17/-5/sn	12/5/c	Jackson, MS	61/31/pc	60/31/s	Raleigh, NC	54/30/pc	45/25/s	Bogota	67/47/pc	68/49/r
Boise	43/27/s	43/28/pc	Jacksonville, FL	65/36/s	60/34/s	Reno, NV	50/28/s	53/27/s	Brussels	49/45/pc	54/41/sh
Boston	38/27/pc	40/27/s	Kansas City, MO	37/22/pc	33/20/pc	Richmond	51/27/pc	43/24/s	Buenos Aires	70/56/sh	72/53/s
Buffalo	33/24/sf	36/27/sf	Las Vegas	64/43/pc	67/45/s	Sacramento	60/37/pc	62/38/s	Cairo	73/56/s	72/56/s
Burlington, VT	34/25/c	34/26/sn	Little Rock	54/31/s	57/27/s	St. Louis	35/22/s	34/18/sf	Caracas	76/66/t	76/66/r
Charlotte, SC	60/36/s	56/33/s	Los Angeles	76/51/s	76/50/pc	St. Thomas, VI	86/78/sh	88/78/pc	Copenhagen	43/39/pc	48/40/sh
Charleston, WV	37/20/sf	31/20/c	Louisville	37/22/pc	35/20/sf	Salt Lake City	45/27/s	45/28/pc	Dakar	87/75/pc	85/75/pc
Charlotte	53/29/pc	45/27/s	Memphis	49/28/s	49/25/s	San Diego	71/47/s	68/49/pc	Dublin	56/39/pc	44/33/pc
Cheyenne, WY	48/23/s	50/30/s	Miami	78/60/pc	75/57/s	San Francisco	65/47/pc	64/47/s	Edinburgh	56/41/sh	44/26/sh
Chicago	27/18/s	32/21/pc	Milwaukee	28/19/pc	34/23/pc	San Juan, PR	89/77/sh	87/77/pc	Frankfurt	35/30/pc	46/40/c
Cincinnati	32/18/pc	32/20/pc	Minneapolis	23/17/pc	26/15/pc	Seattle	47/32/pc	45/34/pc	Geneva	40/65/c	51/41/sh
Cleveland	31/25/sf	35/25/sf	Nashville	45/23/pc	41/21/s	Spokane, WA	39/27/pc	38/27/c	Ham., Bermuda	70/65/c	69/65/pc
Dallas	62/38/pc	63/36/s	New Orleans	65/47/s	62/46/s	Syracuse	37/27/sf	36/27/sn	Helsinki	45/41/c	43/37/c
Denver	47/24/s	48/31/s	New York City	38/29/pc	41/30/s	Tampa	68/47/s	67/44/s	Ho Chi Minh City	90/76/r	86/76/pc
			Norfolk	52/37/pc	42/32/s	Wichita	49/27/s	40/22/s	Hong Kong	72/62/s	75/66/s

OFFICIAL RECORD



Precipitation



Moon Phases	Solar system
Dec 1 New	Sun Rise 7:08 a.m. Set 4:46 p.m.
Dec 8 First Quarter	Venus Rise 10:27 a.m. Set 7:48 p.m.
Dec 15 Full	Mars Rise 8:45 p.m. Set 11:18 a.m.
Dec 22 Last Quarter	Jupiter Rise 5:10 p.m. Set 7:50 a.m.
	Saturn Rise 12:48 p.m. Set 11:58 p.m.

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PRO FOOTBALL

How do many players put the stress and frustration of the NFL behind them? By writing in their journals. **A1**

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Michigan shockingly knocks off Ohio State again; Virginia Tech cruises in the Commonwealth Cup. **D3-5**

BARRY SVRLUGA

Mikaela Shiffrin's chase of 100 World Cup wins is put on an unexpected hold after a frightening crash. **D10**

Big seasons by Ravens' Henry, Eagles' Barkley hark back to glory days of old-school position



Jerry Brewer

You could see his sarcasm begging for permission to bite. As Justice Hill listened to a question about the NFL's running back revival, he pursed his lips and figured out how to respond the nicest way he could.

"I don't think we ever went away," Hill said, laughing. "But, I mean, you can say that."

Hill is the backup to Derrick Henry, the capstone acquisition of the Baltimore Ravens' unstoppable offense. At 30 years old, Henry persists as the least-enjoyable human to tackle, a 250-pound tank with a Maserati engine. When the Ravens signed Henry to a two-year contract in March, some analysts wondered about the fit, considering him a luxury pickup for an offense that needed, if anything, an upgrade at wide receiver. Twelve games into the partnership, Henry

## Running back to the future

Eagles at Ravens  
4:25 p.m., CBS

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL DOMINE/THE WASHINGTON POST;  
ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOS

has helped two-time MVP Lamar Jackson reach a higher level of efficiency and transformed the Ravens' offense into the league's most complete attack.

And he's not even the running back we're most infatuated with right now.

That honor goes to Saquon Barkley, the game-breaking, quick-twitching, reverse-hurdling athletic marvel whose addition has made the Philadelphia Eagles Super Bowl contenders again. The Eagles narrowly lost Super Bowl LVII two years ago, then started 10-1 last season before falling apart. When they began 2-2 this season, you assumed they had plateaued. But Barkley was just getting comfortable.

Free from the New York Giants' ineptitude, he is having his best season at 27. Barkley leads the NFL with 1,392 rushing yards in 11 games; Henry is at 1,325 through 12 games. After running for 255 yards and compiling

SEE **BREWER** ON **D7**

## It sure is cold outside. How will Daniels respond?

BY SAM FORTIER

As the Washington Commanders' offense faces its greatest doubts of the season, rookie quarterback Jayden Daniels must confront another, more personal challenge: inclement weather.

The forecast for Sunday's home game against the Tennessee Titans is cloudy with a high near 40 degrees. That might not seem too chilly to a native Washingtonian, but this could end up being the coldest game of

Commanders' rookie QB almost exclusively has played in relatively ideal conditions

Titans at Commanders  
1 p.m., CBS

Inside: Cornerback Emmanuel Forbes Jr., the team's 2023 first-round pick, is waived. **D7**

Daniels's life.

Until this year, Daniels exclusively lived in the Sun Belt, and in college and the NFL, he almost always has played in relatively ideal conditions. Only seven of his past 67 games kicked off with temperatures below 50 degrees, according to a Washington Post analysis, and only three of them had rain. The National Weather Service defines "windy" as wind speeds greater than 20 mph — and only about a half-dozen of those games had such

SEE **COMMANDERS** ON **D7**

## Terps dominated by Nittany Lions in season finale

PENN STATE 44,  
MARYLAND 7

Lopsided road defeat closes frustrating year

BY GENE WANG

UNIVERSITY PARK, PA. — The Maryland football team's task of upsetting Penn State in Saturday's season finale would have been daunting enough even with a completely healthy roster. Doing so without starting quarter-

back Billy Edwards Jr., among others, proved unattainable on the Nittany Lions' senior day at Beaver Stadium.

The 44-7 loss was the Terrapins' most lopsided this year and put the finishing touches on a deflating season that ended with five straight defeats and seven in eight games, all by at least 14 points. Maryland (4-8, 1-8) fell to 0-36 against ranked Big Ten opponents since it joined the conference in 2014 and dropped its fourth consecutive game to Penn State (11-1, 8-1, No. 4 in the College Football Playoff rankings).

"A disappointing loss, a disappointing end to a long, long season," said Terps Coach Michael Locksley, who used blunt language when asked about a postgame exchange with Penn State Coach James Franklin, a former assistant at Maryland, after the Nittany Lions scored a touchdown as time expired. "As I've stated before, this season didn't meet the standards that we set out."

The Terps ended with their worst Big Ten record since 2019, the first year under Locksley, after permitting 31 unanswered points to Penn State in the first

half in front of an announced crowd of 104,044. They also committed two turnovers in the half, both interceptions from quarterback MJ Morris, who started for the first time in place of Edwards, who has been dealing with a thumb injury.

Morris completed 14 of 24 passes for 112 yards and a touchdown with three interceptions while often under duress behind an offensive line that had been a work in progress all season. The unit surrendered six sacks in the loss.

Maryland managed a  
SEE **MARYLAND** ON **D4**



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Quarterback MJ Morris threw three interceptions Saturday as Maryland lost its fifth consecutive game to close out the season.

## Caps win the hard way again, lead East

CAPITALS 6,  
DEVILS 5

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

NEWARK — They did it again, these Washington Capitals, who ideally would like to lead from start to finish every once in a while but are proving they have no issue doing things the hard way — or even the really hard way.

The Capitals beat the New Jersey Devils, 6-5, on Saturday night at Prudential Center for their fourth win in a row, their seventh straight victory on the road (to tie a franchise record) and their 10th come-from-behind win.

Goaltender Charlie Lindgren made 22 saves for Washington (17-6-1), which moved into first place in the Metropolitan Division — and the Eastern Conference. Jake Allen stopped 26 shots for the Devils (16-9-2).

"I'm going to sound like a broken record, but it's character. It's the guys in the room,"

SEE **CAPITALS** ON **D8**

Sharks at Capitals

Tuesday, 7 p.m., Monumental

## Coulibaly stays quiet as Wizards' skid hits 14

BUCKS 124,  
WIZARDS 114

BY VARUN SHANKAR

MILWAUKEE — For Bilal Coulibaly, increasing talent led to increased responsibility.

As a rookie, the Washington Wizards guard mostly focused on defense, taking on the opponent's best perimeter player. But after a transformative offseason in which he tightened his handle and improved his shot, Coulibaly earned a larger offensive role entering his second season.

He flourished to start, seemingly setting a career high every night while continuing to guard opposing stars. But those taxing two-way duties have seemed to wear on Coulibaly. His offensive production has dropped precipitously since his hot start, with the latest output being a four-point performance on 2-for-8 shooting in a 124-114 loss to the Milwaukee Bucks on Saturday night at Fiserv Forum.

"He gets the tough assignments every night," Wizards

SEE **WIZARDS** ON **D8**

Wizards at Cavaliers

Tuesday, 7 p.m., Monumental 2

Washington	21	Michigan	13	3 Texas	17	5 Notre Dame	49	6 Miami	38	8 Tennessee	36	California	6	Purdue	0	15 S. Carolina	17	Auburn	14	Virginia	17	Marshall	35
1 Oregon	49	2 Ohio State	10	20 Texas A&M	7	USC	35	Syracuse	42	Vanderbilt	23	9 SMU	38	10 Indiana	66	12 Clemson	14	13 Alabama	28	Virginia Tech	37	James Madison	33



# THE DAY IN SPORTS

## COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL

### San Jose State, mired in debate, falls in final

San Jose State's volleyball team, the subject of a national debate about women in sports, was beaten by Colorado State, 27-25, 25-20, 23-25, 25-16, in Saturday's Mountain West Conference tournament final in Las Vegas, ending the Spartans' season.

The Rams received the conference's automatic bid to the 64-team NCAA tournament.

San Jose State's season was marked by forfeits, limited protests and the topic of gender identity becoming a political issue in an election year. The Spartans were 14-6.

"I will not sugarcoat our reality for the last two months," Spartans Coach **Todd Kress** in a statement issued by the athletic department. "Our team prepared and was ready to play each match according to established Mountain West and NCAA rules of play. We did not take away anyone's participation opportunities.

"Sadly, others who for years have played this same team without incident chose not to play us this season. To be clear, we did not celebrate a single win by forfeiture. Instead, we braced for the fallout. Each forfeiture announcement unleashed appalling, hateful messages individuals chose to send directly to our student-athletes, our coaching staff, and many associated with our program."

The controversy didn't end during the Mountain West tournament.

Boise State, which twice boycotted regular season matches with San Jose State, pulled out of the conference tournament Wednesday night, hours after it defeated Utah State to secure a spot against the Spartans in Friday's semifinals.

While the Broncos didn't announce explicitly why they withdrew, a lawsuit was recently filed in Colorado by players from various schools against the conference and San Jose State officials calling for a Spartans player to be blocked from participating in the tournament. They cited unspecified reports asserting there was a transgender player on the San Jose State volleyball team, even naming her.

U.S. Magistrate Judge **S. Kato Crews** in Denver ruled Monday that the player was allowed to play, and a federal appeals court upheld the decision the following day.

San Jose State, which received six forfeit victories because of boycotts from opponents during the regular season, was seeded second in the conference tournament and received a first-round bye.

In addition to Boise State, Mountain West members Wyoming, Utah State and Nevada as well as Southern Utah canceled matches this season against the Spartans. Nevada's players said they "refuse to participate in any match that advances injustice against female athletes," without providing further details.

While some media outlets have reported those and other details, San Jose State has not confirmed the school has a trans women's volleyball player. The Associated Press is withholding the player's name because she has not publicly commented on her gender identity and through school officials has declined an interview request.

Though there were two protesters outside of Cox Pavilion on Friday, none were there Saturday. There also were no noticeable signs of hostility directed from the crowd of about 100 in the championship match.

## COLLEGE BASKETBALL

### Top-ranked Bruins continue strong start

**Lauren Betts** had 20 points and 12 rebounds to lead No. 1 UCLA to a 97-41 rout of Fresno State in the Rainbow Wahine Showdown in Honolulu.

Betts led five scorers in double figures for the Bruins, who are 7-0 to start the season. **Kiki Rice** and **Gabriela Jaquez** each scored 15 points. **Janiah Barker** had 13 points, and **Angela Dugalic** scored all 11 of her points before halftime.

The Bruins scored 58 points in the paint and dominated the Bulldogs in second-chance points. ...

**Gianna Kneepkens** scored 16 points, **Kennady McQueen** added 15, and Utah handed No. 3 Notre Dame its second consecutive loss at the Cayman Islands Classic, 78-67. ...

**MiLaysia Fulwiley** led seven players in double figures with 14 points as fourth-ranked South

Carolina overwhelmed Purdue, 99-51, in the Fort Myers Tip-Off in Florida.

In other women's action, Wyoming beat Virginia, 71-66; Toledo defeated Navy, 58-51; Wisconsin topped VCU, 58-45; Richmond edged Oklahoma State, 57-53; and Michigan beat Virginia Tech, 76-65. ...

**KJ Adams** matched his career high with 22 points, and the No. 1 Kansas men used a 30-9 run at the end of the first half and the beginning of the second to beat Furman, 86-51, in Lawrence, Kansas. ...

**Liam McNeeley** and **Jaylin Stewart** each scored 16 points as second-ranked Connecticut snapped a three-game skid with a 99-45 win over visiting Maryland Eastern Shore. ...

**Miles Bird** scored 18 points and **Jared Coleman-Jones** added 16 to help San Diego State edge No. 6 Houston, 72-70, in overtime in the third-place game of the Players Era Festival in Las Vegas.

In the seventh-place game, **Jamiya Neal** had 21 points and nine rebounds to lead No. 21 Creighton past Notre Dame, 80-76. ...

**Carmelo Pacheco's** 18 points helped Mount St. Mary's defeat Howard, 79-75, at Burr Gymnasium. ...

**Nick Dorn** scored 21 points to lead Elon past Navy, 69-63, in Philadelphia.

### SOCCER

#### No. 7 seed Red Bulls reach MLS Cup final

**Andres Reyes** scored two minutes into the second half and **Carlos Coronel** made it stand up for Coach **Sandro Schwarz** as the New York Red Bulls beat host Orlando City, 1-0, in an Eastern Conference final to advance to their second MLS Cup final.

The Red Bulls are the first No. 7 seed to play for the championship after joining the 1998 Chicago Fire as the only teams to win three straight road playoff matches.

Coronel saved three shots in his ninth playoff appearance — all with the Red Bulls. Coronel has all three of his postseason clean sheets this season.

The Red Bulls will face the winner of Saturday night's late

Western Conference final between the Seattle Sounders and the LA Galaxy. ...

Barcelona lost at home for the first time this season when the Spanish league leader was stunned, 2-1, by Las Palmas.

**Sandro Ramirez** and **Fabio Silva** scored for the Canary Islands club on either side of **Raphinha's** equalizer. ...

Bournemouth midfielder **Justin Kluivert** became the first player to record a hat trick of penalties in an English Premier League game.

The Dutch international converted spot kicks in the third, 18th and 74th minutes against Wolverhampton. His third successful penalty wrapped up Bournemouth's 4-2 win at Molineux. ...

**Jamal Musiala** scored late to save Bayern Munich from its first Bundesliga loss of the season with a 1-1 draw at Borussia Dortmund. ...

Botafogo overcame playing with 10 men to win its first Copa Libertadores title after beating fellow Brazilian side Atletico Mineiro, 3-1, in the final in Buenos Aires.

### PRO BASKETBALL

#### Thibault and Whalen join Reeve's Lynx staff

The Lynx added Minnesota great **Lindsay Whalen** and former Washington Mystics coach **Eric Thibault** to their coaching staff.

"I am excited to add both Eric and Lindsay to our coaching staff," Lynx Coach **Cheryl Reeve** said. "Eric has vast experience coaching in the WNBA as both a head and an assistant coach and is a WNBA champion. Lindsay adds a unique perspective as a Lynx legend and Naismith Hall of Famer. I look forward to working with both in our quest for another WNBA championship."

Thibault, who was let go by the Mystics in October, will fill the role of associate head coach.

"I'm thrilled to be joining Cheryl's staff and to be part of the Minnesota Lynx organization," Thibault said. "The players and staff have built an incredible winning culture, and I'm excited to do my part as we pursue a WNBA championship."

Thibault had been head coach

of the Mystics the past two seasons after spending the previous 10 as an assistant with the franchise.

Whalen helped lead the Lynx to four WNBA championships between 2011 and 2017 and was inducted into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in 2022. ...

The Charlotte Hornets will be without point guard **LaMelo Ball** for at least two weeks because of a strained left calf.

Ball felt discomfort in his calf after Wednesday night's loss to the Miami Heat and did not play against the New York Knicks on Friday. The team said he will be reevaluated Dec. 11, which is two weeks from the date of the original injury.

Ball has been hot for the Hornets, averaging 40.3 points in his past four games.

### HOCKEY

#### Last-minute goal helps Rangers end their skid

**Kaapo Kaako** scored a power-play goal with 24 seconds left, and the New York Rangers stopped a five-game slide by topping the visiting Montreal Canadiens, 4-3.

**Artemi Panarin**, **Vincent Trocheck** and **Mika Zibanejad** also scored for the Rangers, who got their first win since a 4-3 victory at Vancouver on Nov. 19. ...

**Auston Matthews** picked up an assist in his return to the lineup after missing nine games with an upper-body injury as the Toronto Maple Leafs beat the Tampa Bay Lightning, 5-3, in Tampa.

**Joseph Woll** stopped 38 shots for Toronto.

### AUTO RACING

#### Norris aids teammate; Verstappen loses pole

**Lando Norris** ignored team orders and handed McLaren teammate **Oscar Piastri** the sprint race in Doha, Qatar, while Formula One champion **Max Verstappen** was stripped of the pole position.

Verstappen's penalty elevated **George Russell** to first on the grid.

With McLaren eyeing its first Formula One constructors' title in 26 years and Russell close behind for Mercedes, Norris was told by the team over the radio to "finish in this order," ahead of Piastri.

He chose to gift his teammate the win anyway, easing off to the right on the exit of the final corner and then swooping back across in front of Russell, who finished third.

Norris was paying Piastri back for doing the same in the sprint race in Brazil when Norris was still fighting Verstappen for the drivers' title.

Verstappen thought he had secured his first pole position since the Austrian Grand Prix in June, but a lengthy stewards' inquiry gave him a one-place penalty for driving "unnecessarily slowly" in an incident with Russell.

### BASEBALL

#### Snell, Dodgers finalize \$182 million contract

**Blake Snell** and the Los Angeles Dodgers finalized a five-year, \$182 million contract.

The reigning World Series champions announced the deal with the two-time Cy Young Award winner.

Snell, who turns 32 on Wednesday, went 5-3 with a 3.12 ERA in 20 starts for the San Francisco Giants this year, throwing a no-hitter against the Cincinnati Reds on Aug. 2 for one of just 16 individual shutouts in the majors this season. The left-hander struck out 145 and walked 44 in 104 innings.

### MISC.

#### Marchand won't swim at short-course worlds

**Léon Marchand** won't compete at the short-course swimming world championships next month.

The four-time Olympic champion from France said he needs rest after an intense year.

The 22-year-old Marchand won five medals — four of them gold — at the Paris Olympics this summer.

The short course worlds are scheduled for Dec. 10 to 15 in Budapest. ...

**Chevonne Forgan** and **Sophie Kirkby** became the first Americans to win a World Cup huge gold medal on foreign soil in nearly seven years, prevailing in the season-opening women's doubles race in Lillehammer, Norway.

— From news services

## SPOTLIGHT: SOCCER

# Arsenal runs rampant in first-half goalfest

BY STEVE DOUGLAS

Inspired by Bukayo Saka, Arsenal scored five goals in a wild first half at West Ham before settling for a 5-2 win that lifted the team into second place in the English Premier League in its bid to chase down Liverpool.

Saka was one of five different scorers for Arsenal at London's Olympic Stadium on Saturday and also had a hand in three goals, by Gabriel, Leandro Trossard and Martin Odegaard. Kai Havertz netted the other goal for Arsenal in its biggest league victory this season.

Since returning from the international break, Arsenal has beaten Nottingham Forest, 3-0, in the Premier League and Sporting Lisbon, 5-1, in the Champions

## ARSENAL 5, WEST HAM 2

### Gunners gain ground in hunt for Premier League's top spot

League and put another five goals past West Ham. The prolific run has coincided with the return to fitness of Odegaard, Arsenal's playmaker and captain who missed two months with an ankle injury.

The Gunners trimmed the gap to Liverpool to six points ahead of the leader's home match Sunday against beleaguered Manchester City. Arsenal has been beaten to the title by City in

each of the last two seasons but might be wanting Pep Guardiola's team to pull off a victory at Anfield.

Saka, especially, is benefiting from Odegaard's presence. The England winger already has 10 assists for the campaign — having played 12 of Arsenal's 13 games — along with five goals.

"I am taking a lot of pleasure from creating and scoring, but the greatest pleasure is to win," Saka said. "Let's keep this form going. Definitely the last three games we have been back."

All of the goals in the match were in the first half. It's just the fourth time since the Premier League began in 1992 that seven goals were scored in a game before halftime.

— Associated Press

## TELEVISION AND RADIO

<b>NFL</b>	
1 p.m.	<b>Tennessee at Washington</b> » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WBIG (100.3 FM)
1 p.m.	<b>Arizona at Minnesota</b> » WBFF (Ch. 45)
4 p.m.	<b>Los Angeles Rams at New Orleans</b> » WTTG (Ch. 5)
4:25 p.m.	<b>Philadelphia at Baltimore</b> » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WYYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
8:20 p.m.	<b>San Francisco at Buffalo</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11), WJFK (106.7 FM), WTEM (980 AM)
<b>NBA</b>	
6 p.m.	<b>Boston at Cleveland</b> » NBA TV
<b>MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL</b>	
Noon	<b>Alcorn State at Maryland</b> » Big Ten Network, WTEM (980 AM)
2 p.m.	<b>Buffalo at Penn State</b> » Big Ten Network
4 p.m.	<b>Middle Tennessee at UAB</b> » ESPN2
4 p.m.	<b>North Florida at Nebraska</b> » Big Ten Network
4:30 p.m.	<b>South Carolina State at Xavier</b> » Fox Sports 1
<b>WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL</b>	
Noon	<b>Columbia at Duke</b> » ACC Network
2 p.m.	<b>Creighton at Tulsa</b> » ESPN2
3:30 p.m.	<b>Maryland vs. Toledo</b> » ESPN Plus
<b>AUTO RACING</b>	
11 a.m.	<b>Formula One: Qatar Grand Prix</b> » ESPN2
<b>GOLF</b>	
7 a.m.	<b>Ladies European Tour: Women's Spanish Open, final round</b> » Golf Channel
<b>SOCCER</b>	
8:30 a.m.	<b>English Premier League: Aston Villa at Chelsea</b> » USA Network
9 a.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Lille at Montpellier</b> » BeIN Sports
11 a.m.	<b>English Premier League: Manchester City at Liverpool</b> » USA Network
11 a.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Nice at Lyon</b> » BeIN Sports
Noon	<b>Italian Serie A: Inter Milan at Fiorentina</b> » CBS Sports Network
2:45 p.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Monaco at Marseille</b> » BeIN Sports
<b>PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL</b>	
1 p.m.	<b>NBA G League: Sioux Falls at Motor City</b> » NBA TV
<b>PROFESSIONAL LACROSSE</b>	
6 p.m.	<b>National Lacrosse League: Philadelphia at San Diego</b> » ESPN2
<b>WINTER SPORTS</b>	
12:30 p.m.	<b>FIS Alpine Ski World Cup: Killington Cup</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)



# COLLEGE FOOTBALL

## Wolverines snuff rival Buckeyes' Big Ten hopes

MICHIGAN 13,  
OHIO STATE 10

FROM NEWS SERVICES  
AND STAFF REPORTS

COLUMBUS, OHIO — Dominic Zvada kicked a 21-yard field goal with 45 seconds left, and Michigan stunned Ohio State (No. 2 in the College Football Playoff rankings), 13-10, on Saturday, ending the Buckeyes' hopes of returning to the Big Ten title game.

Kalel Mullings broke away for a 27-yard run, setting up the Wolverines (7-5, 5-4) at the Ohio State 17-yard line with two minutes remaining in the game. The drive stalled at the 3, and Zvada came on for the chip shot.

Ohio State (10-2, 7-2) got the ball back but couldn't move it, with Will Howard throwing incomplete on fourth down to seal the Wolverines' fourth straight win over their bitter rival.

"You come to Michigan to play this game," Zvada said. "So, it's the biggest one of the year. It's the one that everyone looks forward to, and to be able to come in here and take the win, it's amazing."

This Ohio State loss in the "The Game" might have been the toughest of the past four because Michigan was unranked and wrapping up a disappointing season. The Wolverines also were playing without a couple of top players: tight end Colston Loveland and cornerback Will Johnson.

The Buckeyes were favored by 21 points, the widest point spread for this rivalry since 1978, according to ESPN Stats and Info.

Records — and point spreads, for that matter — rarely mean much when these two teams meet.

"Our defense played outstanding," Michigan Coach Sherrone Moore said. "We held a high-powered offense to 10 points, 77 rushing yards."

The Buckeyes were off all afternoon. Howard was 19 for 33 for 175 yards with one touchdown and two interceptions, and



JASON MOWRY/GETTY IMAGES

Michigan's 21-yard field goal with 45 seconds left denied Ohio State a spot in the Big Ten title game. A postgame brawl marred the finish.

Jayden Fielding missed two field goal attempts. The run game was hardly a factor.

"It's hard, man," an emotional Howard said. "I really don't have much right now. I do know we're a two-loss team. We're going to get into the playoffs and make a run. But, I mean, this one hurts."

Mullings was Michigan's primary weapon. He rushed for 116 yards and the Wolverines' only touchdown of the game in the first half as neither team could get much going offensively on the frigid afternoon.

"They made plays, we made plays, so as the game wore on you could definitely, slowly feel them starting to lose confidence, lose that energy and lose that faith," Mullings said.

Howard was clunky all day. In the first half he threw an interception from deep in his own territory that led to Michigan's touchdown.

He went out for a play in the second quarter to be checked for a head injury. After the game, he said he was fine.

"We're very disappointed and never thought this would happen right here," Ohio State Coach Ryan Day said. "We expected to win this game and go play in the Big Ten championship game."

— Associated Press

### Players skirmish after game

After the game, Wolverines players planted a Michigan flag at midfield and were accosted by Buckeyes players, who took issue with the gesture. In video of the melee, Michigan players can be seen congregating over the "O" at midfield in Ohio Stadium, waving the flag and planting it. Players began shoving, swinging at, tackling and restraining one another. Video from alternate angles shows coaches and authorities caught in the chaos,

with some trying to intercede and at least one person falling to the ground. Multiple skirmishes broke out nearby.

After the melee, Ohio State police said on social media that officers used pepper spray to try to break up the altercation. Some videos showed Michigan players crouching and squinting their eyes. Sports Illustrated reporter Pat Forde, who reported being hit himself, said players from both teams were affected.

Later, Michigan players made another effort to plant their flag. Wolverines defensive end Derrick Moore led the way, but Ohio State defensive end Jack Sawyer grabbed the flag, ripped it off its pole and threw it to the ground, instigating another round of chasing and shoving.

A reporter asked Day about the incident during his postgame news conference, noting that some Buckeyes staff members

appeared to be "bloodied" in the skirmish.

"I don't know all the details of it, but I know these guys are looking to put a flag on our field and our guys weren't going to let that happen," Day said, adding that he was embarrassed about losing the game.

The melee erupted as Fox reporter Jenny Taft interviewed Michigan defensive lineman Mason Graham; the broadcast cut away to focus on the fight. Later, Taft asked Mullings to reflect on the episode.

"You hate to see stuff like that after the game. It's just bad for the sport, bad for college football," Mullings said. "But at the end of the day, they got to learn how to lose, man. You can't be fighting and stuff just because you lost the game. We had 60 minutes, we had four quarters, to do all that fighting."

— Glynn A. Hill

## Orange deals crushing blow to Hurricanes' postseason dreams

SYRACUSE 42,  
MIAMI 38

BY MARK FRANK

SYRACUSE, N.Y. — Kyle McCord and Syracuse knocked Miami, No. 6 in the College Football Playoff rankings, out of ACC title contention — and possibly ended the Hurricanes' playoff hopes — by rallying from a 21-0 deficit for a 42-38 win on Saturday.

McCord threw for 380 yards and three touchdowns for the Orange (9-3, 5-3). LeQuint Allen ran for two scores and picked up two critical first downs on Syracuse's final, clock-killing drive and Devin Grant forced a fumble that he returned 56 yards for a touchdown to help the Orange beat a ranked foe for the third time this season.

"I want to be the one who brought [Syracuse football] back to what it once was," said McCord, who transferred from Ohio State after starting for the Buckeyes last season. "That's a testament to this team. This win shows that Syracuse is for real, and being part of that team that turned things around, that's going to last forever. Looking back, everything [Coach Fran Brown] said came true, and coming here is the best decision I've made in my life."

Cam Ward had 349 yards passing with two touchdowns for the Hurricanes (10-2, 6-2), who will be off next week while Clemson faces SMU for the ACC title and will have to hope for an at-large bid into the 12-team playoff.

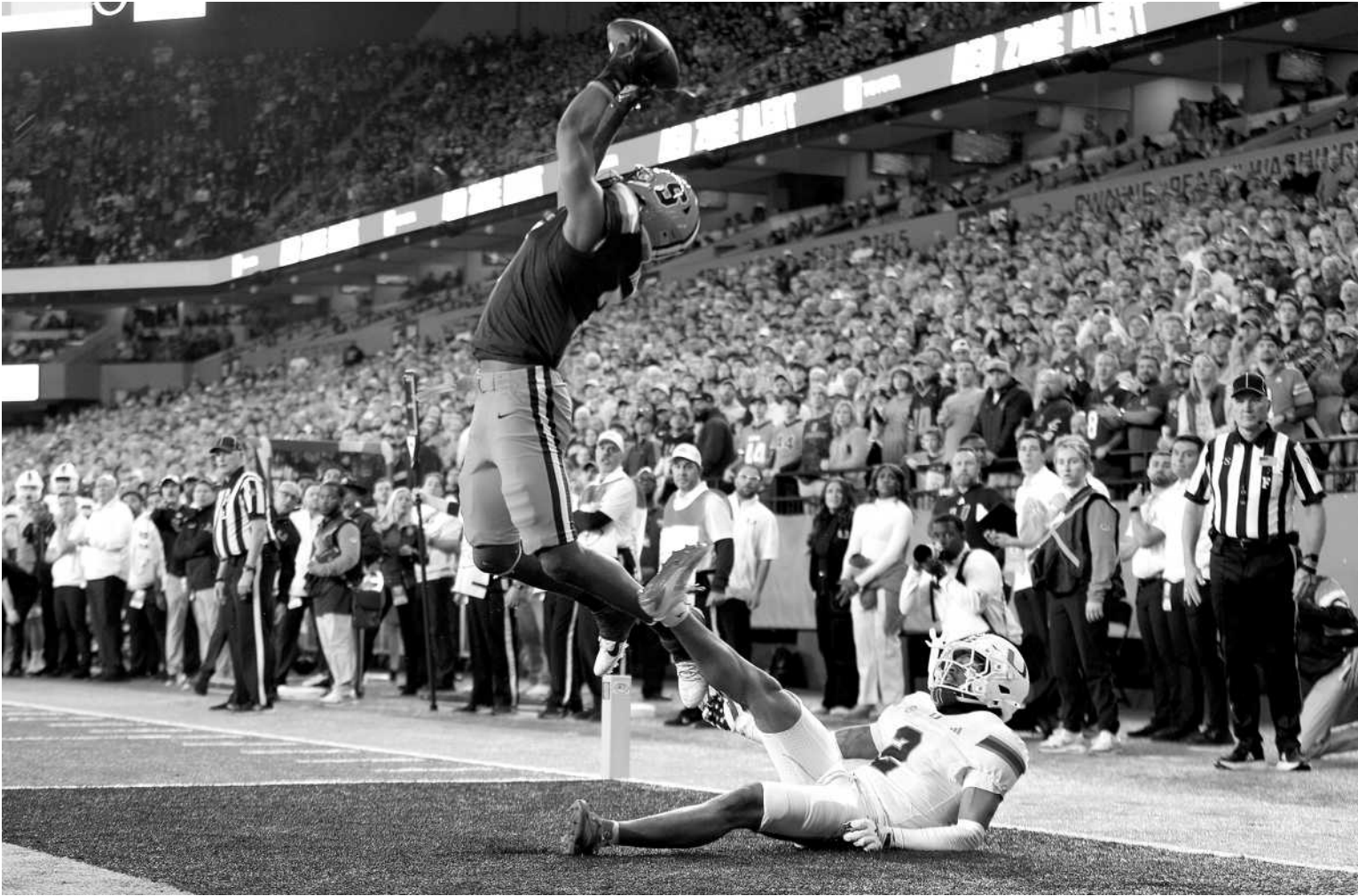
"If we get a chance to go into the playoff, we're going to make the most of it," Ward said.

Miami had little trouble scoring but settled for a field goal on what turned out to be its final possession when Coach Mario Cristobal declined to go for it on fourth and goal from the 10.

"We use analytics. It was outside the 10-yard line with four minutes to go. Get the points. Get a stop," Cristobal said.

The Hurricanes didn't get that stop. Syracuse ran the ball eight times to run out the final 3:42, aided by an offside penalty.

Miami had defeated Syracuse six straight times before this shootout, in which the teams combined for 983 yards of offense



BRYAN M. BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES

Syracuse wide receiver Jackson Meeks, who had seven receptions for 110 yards against Miami, makes one of his two touchdown catches.

and 51 first downs. The Hurricanes began the season 9-0 but have lost two of three, falling three weeks ago at Georgia Tech.

"We came up short, and that's on all of us, starting with myself," Cristobal said. "We don't shy away from it. We're not in any way, shape or form anything but hard workers and accountable people. And it's brutally difficult."

McCord was 26 for 36 and became the first Syracuse quarterback to throw for 4,000 yards in a season. His second touchdown pass to Jackson Meeks was his 27th of the season, also an Orange record.

McCord couldn't resist a dig at his old school after the second-ranked Buckeyes scored just 10 points in a loss to unranked Michigan earlier Saturday.

"Everything comes full circle," he said.

Allen finished with 143 yards from scrimmage for Syracuse —

22 carries for 82 yards and six receptions for 61 yards. Trebor Pena had six catches for 128 yards and a touchdown, and Meeks had seven catches for 110 yards and the two scores.

"They made contested catches 80, 90 percent of the time," Cristobal said. "We had a difficult time covering them. The ball was out quick. We affected [McCord] early but didn't affect him much as it went on."

The game was tied at 28 when Grant forced a fumble by wide receiver Xavier Restrepo at the Syracuse 44. He scooped the ball and ran down the left sideline for the score, giving the Orange a 35-28 lead with 1:47 to go in the third quarter.

"We do it in practice," Grant said. "The ball is the program. You punch at the ball. I was grateful for it to come out and was fortunate to take it to the house."

Damien Martinez ran for a two-yard touchdown on Miami's next possession to tie the game at 35. Allen's three-yard run gave the Orange the lead for good at 42-35.

Restrepo finished with 148 yards receiving on nine catches for the Hurricanes, and Jacobly George had six receptions for 121 yards.

Miami scored touchdowns on its first three possessions, and a rout appeared possible. A 40-yard touchdown pass from McCord to Pena midway through the first quarter was wiped out by an illegal formation penalty and seemed to deflate Syracuse.

The Hurricanes dominated the first 15 minutes, outgaining Syracuse 189 yards to 42.

"We gave them 21 points. There were a lot of self-inflicted wounds," said Brown, the Orange's first-year coach. "I think we were just tested again, about how tough we were and our will. I

think the 21-0 [deficit] showed we won't quit and that we'll continue to push."

The Orange began its rally with two quick touchdowns in the second quarter. Allen took a handoff, bounced off a would-be tackler and maintained his balance for an eight-yard touchdown, and McCord connected with Meeks in the left corner of the end zone from nine yards out to make it 21-14 at the half.

The scoring didn't slow down after halftime.

A 25-yard pass to Pena in the right corner of the end zone tied the game briefly at 21 with less than a minute to go in the third, but the Hurricanes countered three minutes later on Mark Fletcher Jr.'s second two-yard score of the game. McCord and Meeks tied it at 28 when they hooked up for another nine-yard touchdown.

— Associated Press

## Gamecocks top Tigers, then lobby for playoff

SOUTH CAROLINA 17,  
CLEMSON 14

Clemson still gets chance to play for ACC title

BY PETE IACOBELLI

CLEMSON, S.C. — South Carolina Coach Shane Beamer has no doubt about where his surging Gamecocks (No. 15 in the College Football Playoff rankings) belong in the postseason — chasing a national championship.

"It's hard for me to say we're not one of the 12 best teams in the country," a giddy Beamer said Saturday after watching his team pull off another late miracle, courtesy of quarterback LaNorris Sellers, to defeat its in-state rival, No. 12 Clemson, 17-14.

Sellers scored his second touchdown, this one from 20 yards out with 1:08 to play, for South Carolina's sixth straight victory, four of them in that run coming over ranked opponents.

Are you paying attention, CFP selectors?

"If the committee's job is to pick the 12 best teams, you tell me," Beamer said.

Sellers, a confident and poised freshman, finished with 166 yards rushing and 164 yards passing.

Two games ago, he set career bests with 353 yards passing and five touchdown throws in twice rallying the Gamecocks (9-3, 5-3 SEC) from fourth-quarter deficits to defeat Missouri, 34-30.

This time, Sellers shrugged off his interception near Clemson's goal line with less than 11 minutes left to lead his team to a field goal and then his game-winner. Sellers spun away from defender Peter Woods in the backfield, broke through the line and cut left to reach the end zone.

Sellers hears defenders get angry when they get their hands on but can't bring down the speedy, 6-foot-3 passer in his first year since taking over for Spencer Rattler.

How does he do it?  
"I don't really know," Sellers said.

Beamer had an answer to that one, too.

"He's a competitor; he's a warrior," Beamer said. "He doesn't get too high or too low. He's out there having fun."

Clemson (9-3, 7-1 ACC) had a final chance and drove to the South Carolina 18 with 16 seconds left — well within reach of a tying field goal — when Cade Klubnik was intercepted by Demetrius Knight Jr. to end things.

The Gamecocks were 3-3 after losing at Alabama in mid-October and then pulled off their longest winning streak since 2012.

The Tigers also were hoping to play their way into the CFP's 12-team field. But their offense had too many costly mistakes, and their defense could not corral Sellers.

"He's a great player and made great plays," Clemson linebacker Barrett Carter said.

Still, all was not lost for Clemsons. With Syracuse upsetting No. 6 Miami, 42-38, later in the afternoon, the Tigers slipped into the ACC title game next Saturday night against SMU in Charlotte.

Both teams came in on highs, the Tigers having won three straight and the Gamecocks five in a row, including three consecutive over ranked opponents Texas A&M, Vanderbilt and Missouri.

But neither team found its offensive rhythm in the opening half.

Sellers was sacked by T.J. Parker and turned the ball over as Parker recovered with South Carolina inside the Clemson 20.

The Tigers drove to the South Carolina 11 and turned down a chip shot field goal to go for it on fourth and one. But Mafah was stopped way short by Jalon Kilgore and Knight.

Klubnik had scoring runs of 13 and 18 yards for Clemson.

The Tigers lost to both ranked SEC opponents they faced this season, first to No. 1 Georgia to start the year and then to rival South Carolina.

Tigers Coach Dabo Swinney was proud of his team's regular season.

"We got better this season, a lot of positives to build on," he said. "But this one is tough. It's tough. It hurts."

— Associated Press



# COLLEGE FOOTBALL

## ROUNDUP

# Fighting Irish secure a spot in playoff

## NOTRE DAME 49, USC 35

### ASSOCIATED PRESS

Christian Gray returned an interception 99 yards for a touchdown with 3:39 to play, Xavier Watts returned another interception 100 yards for a score with 1:18 left, and Notre Dame (11-1, No. 5 in the College Football Playoff rankings) locked down a berth in the 12-team playoff with a 49-35 victory over Southern California in Los Angeles for its 10th consecutive victory.

Riley Leonard threw two touchdown passes and rushed for another score for the Fighting Irish, which completed an impressive regular season by holding off the persistent Trojans (6-6) for its sixth win in the past seven editions of this famed intersectional rivalry.

**• OREGON 49, WASHINGTON 21:** Dillon Gabriel threw for two touchdowns and ran for another, and the top-ranked Ducks (12-0, 9-0) closed out an undefeated regular season with a dominant win over the Huskies (6-6, 4-5) in Eugene, Oregon.

Oregon already had locked up a spot in next weekend's Big Ten championship game. The Ducks will face Penn State, which defeated Maryland earlier Saturday.

**• TEXAS 17, TEXAS A&M 7:** Quintrevion Wisner ran for a career-high 186 yards and Quinn Ewers threw a touchdown pass to lead the No. 3 Longhorns to a win over the No. 20 Aggies in College Station, sending Texas to the SEC

championship game.

Texas (11-1, 7-1 SEC) will face No. 6 Georgia next Saturday in Atlanta for the SEC title, with the winner getting a first-round bye in the 12-team College Football Playoff.

**• ALABAMA 28, AUBURN 14:** Jalen Milroe passed for 256 yards and ran for 104 yards and three touchdowns to lead the 13th-ranked Crimson Tide (9-3, 5-3 SEC) past the Tigers in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to keep its playoff hopes alive.

Auburn (5-7, 2-6) kept it close for a half but wound up with a fifth straight Iron Bowl loss and fourth consecutive losing season.

**• TENNESSEE 36, VANDERBILT 23:** Nico Iamaleava threw for 257 yards and four touchdowns as the No. 8 Volunteers (10-2, 6-2 SEC) stormed back from a 14-0 deficit to upend the Commodores (6-6, 3-5) in Nashville.

**• SMU 38, CALIFORNIA 6:** Kevin Jennings threw for 225 yards and two touchdowns as the ninth-ranked Mustangs (11-1, 8-0) completed a sweep of their first ACC schedule with a rout of the Golden Bears (6-6, 2-6) in Dallas.

SMU was already locked into next week's championship game in its ACC debut before closing the regular season with its 17th consecutive win in a conference game.

**• INDIANA 66, PURDUE 0:** Kurtis Rourke threw two of his record-tying six touchdown passes to Elijah Sarraat, Justice Ellison and Ty Son Lawton each ran for scores, and the 10th-ranked Hoosiers routed the Boilermakers in Bloomington, Indiana, to reclaim the Old Oaken Bucket. They now

await their playoff fate.

**• MISSOURI 28, ARKANSAS 21:** Brady Cook rushed for a 30-yard touchdown with 1:53 remaining to lead the No. 21 Tigers (9-3, 5-3 SEC) past the Razorbacks (6-6, 3-5) at a snow-covered Faurrot Field in Columbia, Missouri.

**• ILLINOIS 38, NORTHWESTERN 28:** Aidan Laughery rushed for three touchdowns as the No. 23 Fighting Illini (9-3, 6-3 Big Ten) handled the Wildcats (4-8, 2-7) in Chicago to reach nine wins for the first time since its 2007 Rose Bowl season.

**• ARIZONA STATE 49, ARIZONA 7:** Cam Skattebo ran for 177 yards and three touchdowns, Sam Leavitt threw for three scores, and the 16th-ranked Sun Devils (10-2, 7-2) put themselves in position to play in the Big 12 championship game with a blow-out of the Wildcats (4-8, 2-7) in Tucson.

## Spiders ousted from playoffs

Jaden Green and Geoffrey Jamiel scored on long plays in the fourth quarter as unseeded Lehigh rallied from a nine-point fourth-quarter deficit to topple No. 9 Richmond (10-3), 20-16, in a first-round game of the Football Championship Subdivision playoffs at home.

Lehigh (9-3) advances to a second-round game at eighth-seeded Idaho on Dec. 7.

**• OLD DOMINION 40, ARKANSAS STATE 32:** Freshman Quinn Henicle rushed for 205 yards and two touchdowns and threw for two more in his first start to lead the Monarchs (5-7, 4-4 Sun Belt) past the Red Wolves (7-5, 5-3) in Jonesboro, Arkansas.



Tyler Warren and Penn State advanced to the Big Ten title game with the win and Ohio State's defeat.

# Terps can't keep up with Nittany Lions

## MARYLAND FROM DI

season-low 194 yards of total offense and converted 2 of 12 third downs on its way to losing to the Nittany Lions for the ninth time in 10 games. The only victory came on the road during the pandemic-shortened 2020 season when fans were not permitted in the stands.

The outcome this time became all but certain when the Terps fell behind 24-7 with 6:53 left in the second quarter on reserve quarterback Beau Pribula's one-yard plunge to cap a five-play, 60-yard drive. Morris threw his first interception minutes later, and Penn State starting quarterback Drew Allar followed with a seven-yard touchdown pass to tight end Tyler Warren.

Allar went 17 for 26 for 171 yards and a touchdown without an interception and ran seven times for 23 yards and another score. The junior directed an attack that amassed 412 yards of total offense on the way to the Nittany Lions' fourth straight victory, which secured a spot in next week's Big Ten championship game against Oregon and removed any doubt that they would earn a berth in the College Football Playoff.

The Terps, meanwhile, began looking toward next season.

Locksley inserted redshirt freshman Champ Long at quarterback late in the third quarter for one series. Long had been somewhat in the mix at the beginning of training camp in the search to replace Taulia Tagovailoa as the starter.

"For me, it's definitely frustrating," said Maryland senior wide receiver Tai Felton, who finished with 96 receptions to set the program's single-season record. "I feel like my past three years we were definitely elevating, going up, and this season we kind of hit a dip, but like I was telling the guys in the locker room, there's a lot of lessons we can learn."

The proceedings actually got off to a promising start for the Terps, who forced a turnover on the first snap and scored one play later on a 25-yard touchdown pass from Morris to Kaden Prather. The senior wide receiver got behind cornerback Jalen Kimber on a fade route to the back right corner of the end zone just 14 seconds into the first quarter.

Maryland began the possession deep in Penn State territory thanks to defensive tackle Tommy Akingbesote stripping the ball from running back Nicholas Singleton. It was the second consecutive game in which the Terps recovered a fumble after

failing to do so in the previous five.

The ragged beginning by Penn State came as a surprise given its added motivation: The Nittany Lions suddenly were in control of their path to the Big Ten championship game. Penn State needed No. 2 Ohio State to lose at home against unranked Michigan, and the Wolverines finished off their 13-10 upset in Columbus shortly before kickoff in University Park.

But Penn State overcame its early travails by moving in front for good on Singleton's two-yard run with 12:53 to play in the second quarter that made it 10-7. Singleton added an 18-yard touchdown in the fourth quarter, turning the corner around the right side and carrying defenders into the end zone.

"Obviously we're not satisfied with how our season went," said Terps senior linebacker Ruben Hyppolite II, who shrugged off the notion that Penn State ran up the score. "Obviously we wanted things to go differently, but everything happens for a reason. What we went through this year has taught us a lot, the vets and the younger guys, so at this point it's all about paying it forward, and I feel like myself, guys like Tai, we paid it forward for the guys coming back for us, and it'll only get better for the Terps."

## NCAA

### SATURDAY'S RESULTS

**EAST**  
Clemson 29, Texas San Antonio 24  
Boston College 34, Pittsburgh 23  
Johns Hopkins 17, Grove City 14  
North Texas 24, Temple 17  
Penn State 44, Maryland 7  
Rhode Island 21, Central Connecticut 17  
Salisbury 33, St. Francis (Pa.) 13  
Susquehanna 42, Hobart 35  
Syracuse 42, Miami 38  
TCU 20, Cincinnati 13  
Connecticut 47, Massachusetts 42  
Villanova 22, Eastern Kentucky 17  
Virginia Tech 37, Virginia 17

### SOUTH

Alabama 28, Auburn 14  
Charlotte 29, Alabama Birmingham 27  
Coastal Carolina 48, Georgia State 27  
Duke 23, Wake Forest 17  
Florida 31, Florida State 11  
Florida International 35, Middle Tennessee 24  
Lehigh 20, Richmond 16  
Louisiana Tech 33, Kennesaw State 0  
Louisville 19, Kentucky 14  
LSU 37, Oklahoma 17  
North Carolina State 35, North Carolina 30  
South Carolina 17, Clemson 14  
Tennessee 36, Vanderbilt 23  
Western Kentucky 19, Jacksonville State 17

### MIDWEST

Illinois 38, Northwestern 28  
Illinois State 35, Southeast Missouri State 27  
Indiana 66, Purdue 0  
Iowa State 29, Kansas State 21  
Michigan 13, Ohio State 10  
Notre Dame 49, Southern California 35  
SMU 38, California 6  
Tarleton State 43, Drake 29  
Texas Tech 52, West Virginia 15  
Texas El Paso 42, New Mexico State 35

### WEST

Arizona State 49, Arizona 7  
Notre Dame 49, Southern California 35  
Oregon 49, Washington 21  
Texas 17, Texas A&M 7  
UCLA 20, Fresno State 13  
UNLV 38, Nevada 14  
Wyoming 15, Washington State 14

## No. 4 Penn State 44, Maryland 7

**MARYLAND** ..... 7   0   0   0 - 7  
**PENN STATE** ..... 3   28   0   13 - 44

### FIRST QUARTER

**MD:** Prather 25 pass from Morris (Howes kick), 14:46.  
**PSU:** FG Barker 49, 12:47.

### SECOND QUARTER

**PSU:** Singleton 2 run (Barker kick), 12:53.  
**PSU:** Allar 1 run (Barker kick), 10:11.  
**PSU:** Pribula 1 run (Barker kick), 6:53.  
**PSU:** Warren 7 pass from Allar (Barker kick), 1:46.

### FOURTH QUARTER

**PSU:** Singleton 18 run (Barker kick), 14:14.  
**PSU:** Denmark 15 pass from Pribula, :00.  
**Attendance:** 104,044.

	<b>Maryland</b>	<b>Penn State</b>
First Downs .....	13	23
Total Net Yards .....	208	411
Rushes-Yards .....	31-86	49-213
Passing .....	122	193
Punt Returns .....	0-0	2-11
Kickoff Returns .....	4-55	1-66
Interceptions Ret. ....	3-50	3-50
Comp-Att-Int .....	15-26-3	20-31-0
Sacked-Yards Lost .....	6-35	0-0
Punts .....	7-40.0	4-40.25
Fumbles-Lost .....	0-0	2-1
Penalties-Yards .....	6-28	4-5
Time Of Possession .....	27:06	32:50

**Maryland:** Morris 14-24-3-112, C.Long 1-2-0-10, **Penn State:** Allar 16-26-0-147, Allen 1-1-0-24, Pribula 2-3-0-13, Warren 1-1-0-19.

### RUSHING

**Maryland:** Hemby 13-64, Ray 9-51, C.Long 1-0, Morris 8-(minus 29), **Penn State:** Singleton 14-89, Allen 13-34, Warren 3-32, Smith 6-25, Allar 6-21, Pribula 5-17, Martin 2-0.

### RECEIVING

**Maryland:** Felton 4-27, Hemby 3-20, Wade 2-17, Howard 2-12, Prather 1-25, Ray 1-10, Wisloski 1-9, Houghton 1-2, **Penn State:** Warren 6-68, Evans 4-49, Kh.Dinkins 3-36, Singleton 3-17, Denmark 1-15, Clifford 1-5, Fleming 1-5, Smith 1-(minus 2).

## Virginia Tech 37, Virginia 17

**VIRGINIA** ..... 0   3   8   6 - 17  
**VIRGINIA TECH** ..... 10   10   10   7 - 37

### FIRST QUARTER

**VT:** Tuten 6 run (Love kick), 9:06.  
**VT:** FG Love 44, 1:16.

### SECOND QUARTER

**UVA:** FG Bettridge 37, 2:46.  
**VT:** J.Lane 66 pass from Watson (Love kick), 1:50.  
**VT:** FG Love 31, :00.

### THIRD QUARTER

**VT:** Watson 5 run (Love kick), 10:05.  
**UVA:** Muskett 2 run (Neville pass from Muskett), 5:23.  
**VT:** FG Love 20, 3:08.

### FOURTH QUARTER

**UVA:** Muskett 5 run (pass failed), 13:12.  
**VT:** Tuten 58 run (Love kick), 6:12.

	<b>Virginia</b>	<b>Virginia Tech</b>
First Downs .....	19	21
Total Net Yards .....	275	456
Rushes-Yards .....	32-97	40-202
Passing .....	178	254
Punt Returns .....	1-0	0-0
Kickoff Returns .....	2-35	2-8
Interceptions Ret. ....	0-0	2-27
Comp-Att-Int .....	19-36-2	14-21-0
Sacked-Yards Lost .....	5-23	4-83
Punts .....	4-50.75	4-41.5
Fumbles-Lost .....	1-0	2-0
Penalties-Yards .....	6-45	5-60
Time Of Possession .....	30:31	29:29

### PASSING

**Virginia:** Muskett 19-36-2-178, **Virginia Tech:** Watson 14-21-0-254.

### RUSHING

**Virginia:** Muskett 18-63, Tyree 8-18, Vaughn 6-16, **Virginia Tech:** Tuten 18-124, Watson 11-48, Lane 3-17, Coney 2-8, Mason 3-6, Greene 1-1, (Team) 2-(minus 2).

### RECEIVING

**Virginia:** Harrison 5-54, Courtney 2-25, Fields 2-20, Harris 2-20, Twitty 2-18, Vaughn 2-16, Neville 2-7, Muskett 1-9, Tyree 1-9, **Virginia Tech:** Lane 4-91, Greene 3-36, Jennings 2-51, Felton 2-50, S.Gosnell 2-17, B.Gosnell 1-9.

## No. 1 Oregon 49, Washington 21

**WASHINGTON** ..... 3   11   0   7 - 21  
**OREGON** ..... 7   21   0   14 - 49

### FIRST QUARTER

**ORE:** Whittington 9 run (Sappington kick), 10:35.  
**ORE:** Whittington 2 run (Sappington kick), 5:01.

### SECOND QUARTER

**WASH:** FG Gross 41, 9:44.  
**ORE:** J.James 1 run (Sappington kick), 8:13.  
**ORE:** J.James 1 run (Boyle kick), 7:23.

**ORE:** Gabriel 4 run (Sappington kick), 5:01.  
**WASH:** Coleman 1 run (Boston pass from De.Williams), :51.

### THIRD QUARTER

**ORE:** Te.Johnson 9 pass from Gabriel (Sappington kick), 3:28.

### FOURTH QUARTER

**ORE:** Te.Ferguson 16 pass from Gabriel (Boyle kick), 12:19.  
**ORE:** Riggs 1 run (Hurych kick), 5:02.

**WASH:** G.Jackson 28 pass from De.Williams (Gross kick), 1:43.

	<b>Washington</b>	<b>Oregon</b>
First Downs .....	17	27
Total Net Yards .....	244	458
Rushes-Yards .....	37-43	37-222
Passing .....	201	236
Punt Returns .....	0-0	2-29
Kickoff Returns .....	5-126	4-83
Interceptions Ret. ....	0-0	0-0
Comp-Att-Int .....	17-20-0	19-26-0
Sacked-Yards Lost .....	10-49	0-0
Punts .....	5-44.4	1-63.0
Fumbles-Lost .....	1-1	1-1
Penalties-Yards .....	3-29	6-49
Time Of Possession .....	32:02	27:58

### PASSING

**Washington:** D.Williams 17-20-0-201, **Oregon:** Gabriel 16-23-0-209, D.Moore 3-3-0-27.

### RUSHING

**Washington:** Mohammed 4-23, D.Williams 22-17, Coleman 11-3, **Oregon:** J.James 15-99, Whittington 9-67, Riggs 6-38, Gabriel 3-20, Sadiq 1-2, (Team) 3-(minus 4).

### RECEIVING

**Washington:** G.Jackson 6-49, Hunter 4-64, Boston 3-43, Latu 2-7, Coleman 1-10, Mohammed 1-8, **Oregon:** Te.Ferguson 4-40, J.James 4-40, Holden 3-7, Te.Johnson 3-36, Whittington 2-18, Sadiq 1-11, McClellan 1-6, Stewart 1-4.

## Michigan 13, No. 2 Ohio State 10

**MICHIGAN** ..... 0   10   0   3 - 13  
**OHIO STATE** ..... 3   7   0   0 - 10

### FIRST QUARTER

**OSU:** FG Fielding 29, 6:14.

### SECOND QUARTER

**MICH:** Mullings 1 run (Zvada kick), 12:37.  
**MICH:** FG Zvada 54, 2:15.  
**OSU:** J.Smith 10 pass from Howard (Fielding kick), :30.

### FOURTH QUARTER

**MICH:** FG Zvada 21, :45.  
**Attendance:** 106,005.

	<b>Michigan</b>	<b>Ohio State</b>
First Downs .....	13	16
Total Net Yards .....	234	252
Rushes-Yards .....	42-172	26-77
Passing .....	62	175
Punt Returns .....	1-2	0-0
Kickoff Returns .....	2-17	1-0
Interceptions Ret. ....	2-12	0-0
Comp-Att-Int .....	9-16-2	19-32-2
Sacked-Yards Lost .....	0-0	0-0
Punts .....	3-47.333	3-36.0
Fumbles-Lost .....	0-0	0-0
Penalties-Yards .....	4-50	2-19
Time Of Possession .....	33:35	26:25

### PASSING

**Michigan:** Warren 9-16-2-62, **Ohio State:** Howard 19-33-2-175.

### RUSHING

**Michigan:** Mullings 32-116, Orji 3-32, Warren 1-11, Edwards 4-11, J.Marshall 1-3, (Team) 1-(minus 1), **Ohio State:** Jenkins 12-46, Henderson 10-21, Howard 1-0.

### RECEIVING

**Michigan:** Klein 3-13, Edwards 2-2, O'Leary 1-18, Morris 1-14, Hansen 1-9, F.Moore 1-6, **Ohio State:** Tate 6-58, J.Smith 5-35, Egbuka 4-51, Henderson 2-25, G.Scott 2-6.

## No. 3 Texas 17, No. 20 Texas A&M 7

**TEXAS** ..... 7   10   0   0 - 17  
**TEXAS A&M** ..... 0   0   7   0 - 7

### FIRST QUARTER

**TEX:** Manning 15 run (Auburn kick), 3:07.

### SECOND QUARTER

**TEX:** Blue 7 pass from Ewers (Auburn kick), 8:19.  
**TEX:** FG Auburn 28, 1:50.

### THIRD QUARTER

**TXAM:** Lee 93 interception return (R.Bond kick), 5:42.

	<b>Texas</b>	<b>Texas A&amp;M</b>
First Downs .....	26	15
Total Net Yards .....	458	248
Rushes-Yards .....	50-240	34-102
Passing .....	218	146
Punt Returns .....	0-0	2-44
Kickoff Returns .....	1-27	1-19
Interceptions Ret. ....	1-0	1-93
Comp-Att-Int .....	17-28-1	16-23-1
Sacked-Yards Lost .....	1-4	3-6
Punts .....	4-30.0	4-50.0
Fumbles-Lost .....	1-1	2-0
Penalties-Yards .....	5-25	6-60
Time Of Possession .....	34:44	25:16

### PASSING

**Texas:** Ewers 17-28-1-218, **Texas A&M:** Reed 16-23-1-146.

### RUSHING

**Texas:** Wisner 33-186, Ewers 4-29, Manning 3-14, Blue 5-7, Gibson 1-4, Bond 3-3, (Team) 3-(minus 3), **Texas A&M:** Reed 14-60, Daniels 13-21, Owens 3-10, Bussey 2-5, Smith 1-4, Walker 1-2.

### RECEIVING

**Texas:** Helm 6-56, Golden 3-73, Wingo 2-49, Wisner 2-21, D.Moore 2-10, Blue 1-7, Niblack 1-2, **Texas A&M:** T.Watson 3-38, N.Thomas 3-31, Bussey 2-40, Walker 2-22, Barber 2-8, Smith 2-3, Ohrstrom 1-4, Daniels 1-0.

## No. 5 Notre Dame 49, USC 35

**NOTRE DAME** ..... 7   7   21   14 - 49  
**USC** ..... 0   14   7   14 - 35

### FIRST QUARTER

**ND:** Love 1 run (Jeter kick), 2:28.

### SECOND QUARTER



# Bragging rights, Commonwealth Cup remain in Hokies’ possession after rout

VIRGINIA TECH 37,  
VIRGINIA 17

BY MIKE BARBER

BLACKSBURG, VA. — Virginia Tech’s third-string quarterback proved good enough to thwart rival Virginia for a fourth straight year.

Redshirt freshman Pop Watson made his first college start a memorable one by leading the Hokies to a 37-17 win over Virginia to retain the Commonwealth Cup and make Virginia Tech bowl eligible for a second straight season.

With starting quarterback Kyrn Drones and backup Collin Schlee sidelined, Watson threw for 254 yards and a touchdown and ran for 48 yards and a score. Bhayshul Tuten rushed for 124 yards and two touchdowns, and defensive end Antwaun Powell-Ryland had three sacks.

A 2-2 nonconference showing to start the season and a three-game losing streak to start November were undeniably distasteful for the Hokies, who had ACC title-game aspirations. But there’s no more consistent palate cleanser for Virginia Tech than a meeting with Virginia.

The Hokies (6-6, 4-4) have won 19 of the past 20 in the series. Virginia hasn’t won at Lane Stadium since 1998.

For the seventh time in the past 12 years, Virginia Tech faced its rival needing a victory to reach bowl eligibility. And for the seventh time, the Hokies delivered. Watson played an oversize role in that success.

Strong-armed and quick-footed, he delivered right from the opening possession, connecting on four straight passes and accounting for 77 of 90 yards on the drive. The Hokies took a 7-0 lead when Tuten went up the middle untouched for a six-yard score just 5:54 in.

After being outgained 144 to minus-6 in the first quarter, Virginia (5-7, 3-5) finally got on the scoreboard with a 37-yard field goal from Will Bettridge with less than three minutes left in the second, cutting its deficit to 10-3.

But less than a minute later, Watson hooked up with Jaylin Lane for a 66-yard score, the



RYAN HUNT/GETTY IMAGES

Third-string quarterback Pop Watson, making his first college start Saturday, passed for 254 yards as the Hokies beat the Cavaliers for the 19th time in their past 20 meetings.

Hokies’ longest touchdown pass of the season, and a 17-3 lead. The Hokies then turned an interception thrown by Tony Muskett into a John Love field goal on the final snap of the half for a 20-3 advantage.

Virginia also made a change at quarterback, benching sophomore Anthony Colandrea in favor of Muskett to start the game. The move did not provide a similar spark for a slumping offense that managed just seven points in last weekend’s home loss to SMU.

The Cavaliers entered the week-end ranked 15th in the 17-team ACC in scoring at 23.2 points and 12th in total offense at 368.8 yards. They did little Saturday to change those standings, nor alleviate pressure on beleaguered offensive coordinator Des Kitchings.

Muskett finished 19 for 36 for 178 yards with two interceptions while executing a game plan that surprisingly featured his running more than his quick, three-step-drop passing. The former West Springfield standout, a graduate transfer from Monmouth, carried 18 times for 62 yards and scored two second-half touchdowns, trimming Virginia Tech’s lead to 30-17 with 13:12 to play.

That would be as close as Virginia would get, a relief for a Hokies team that is 1-12 in one-score games under third-year coach Brent Pry.



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NFL WEEK 13

SCHEDULE

<b>Week 1</b> at Buccaneers 37, Commanders 20	<b>Week 4</b> Commanders 42, at Cardinals 14	<b>Week 7</b> at Commanders 40, Panthers 7	<b>Week 10</b> Steelers 28, at Commanders 27	<b>Week 13 vs. Tennessee</b> 1 p.m. (CBS)	<b>Week 16 vs. Philadelphia</b> Dec. 22, 1 p.m. (Fox)
<b>Week 2</b> at Commanders 21, Giants 18	<b>Week 5</b> at Commanders 34, Browns 13	<b>Week 8</b> at Commanders 18, Bears 15	<b>Week 11</b> at Eagles 26, Commanders 18	<b>Week 14</b> Bye	<b>Week 17 vs. Atlanta</b> Dec. 28 or 29, time and TV TBD
<b>Week 3</b> Commanders 38, at Bengals 33	<b>Week 6</b> at Ravens 30, Commanders 23	<b>Week 9</b> Commanders 27, at Giants 22	<b>Week 12</b> Cowboys 34, at Commanders 26	<b>Week 15 at New Orleans</b> Dec. 15, 1 p.m. (Fox)	<b>Week 18 at Dallas</b> Jan. 4 or 5, time and TV TBD

On the air

Sunday's game airs on CBS with Andrew Catalon, Tiki Barber, Jason McCourtly and AJ Ross on the call. Bram Weinstein, London Fletcher and Logan Paulsen will call the game on the Commanders Radio Network, including flagship station WBIG (100.3 FM).

Betting lines

Washington is favored by 5½ points. The over/under is 44½. Neil Greenberg's pick is Washington by 5½.

Forecast

The National Weather Service calls for mostly sunny skies with a high near 40 degrees.

Uniforms

The Commanders will wear their alternate black uniforms for the second and final time this season. Washington is 2-4 all-time in its all-black uniforms, including a Week 8 win over the Chicago Bears on Jayden Daniels's Hail Mary pass as time expired. The Titans will wear white jerseys with light blue pants and white socks.

Key matchup

**Washington WR Terry McLaurin vs. Tennessee's pass defense:** The Titans boast the NFL's top pass defense, allowing just 169.6 passing yards per game with a league-high 13 interceptions, which is impressive considering their top offseason secondary acquisitions — cornerbacks L'Jarius Sneed (out since Week 6 because of a quadriceps injury) and Chidobe Awuzie (out since Week 3 because of a groin injury) — are on injured reserve. But those numbers shouldn't deter Daniels from looking for his top offensive weapon, who is fourth in the NFL with seven touchdowns receptions and fifth with 823 receiving yards despite being tied for 27th in targets with 74. Daniels has targeted Noah Brown (27) more than McLaurin (17) each of the past four games. Washington is 5-1 when McLaurin leads the team in targets.

Injury report

For Washington, offensive tackle Andrew Wylie (concussion) is out. Cornerback Marshon Lattimore (hamstring) is doubtful. For Tennessee, Awuzie (groin) and offensive tackle Leroy Watson IV (back) are out. Running back Tyjae Spears (concussion) is questionable.

About the Titans

Under first-year coach Brian Callahan, the Titans started the season 1-6 but are 2-2 since, including an upset win at the AFC South-leading Houston Texans last Sunday. Second-year quarterback Will Levis has been underwhelming but has shown recent improvement. In his first five games this season, the Kentucky product managed just 699 passing yards and five touchdowns with seven interceptions. In his past three games, he has thrown for 748 yards and five touchdowns with two interceptions. But Washington's defense, which has lacked a consistent pass rush, has a chance to get right against Tennessee's offensive line. Levis has been sacked 35 times, with 20 coming

in the past three games and eight in the win over the Texans. After allowing star running back Derrick Henry to depart for Baltimore in the offseason, the Titans replaced him with Tony Pollard, who has 800 rushing yards and four touchdowns in 11 games. They traded wide receiver DeAndre Hopkins to the Kansas City

Chiefs in October in a move that cleared the way for Calvin Ridley, who signed a four-year, \$92 million deal in March, and Nick Westbrook-Ikhine. Of Ridley's 634 receiving yards this season, 451 have come since the trade, while Westbrook-Ikhine has compiled 285 of his 304 receiving yards since the swap. Westbrook-Ikhine has

caught a touchdown in six of Tennessee's past seven games. Anchored by two-time Pro Bowl defensive tackle Jeffery Simmons, the Titans' defense is stout, ranking second in the NFL in total yards allowed (276.4 per game), first in passing yards allowed and eighth in rushing yards allowed (106.7).

**Q&A**  
Jim Wyatt, senior writer/editor for TennesseeTitans.com, answered questions in advance of Sunday's game:  
**Q:** After starting the season 1-6, the Titans are 2-2 in their past four games. What has led to their improved play, and how have the past four games

changed the outlook for the rest of the season?  
**A:** Well, the return of a healthy — and improved — quarterback Will Levis has helped. Levis has played much better in his past three starts compared with his first five. He has cut down on the turnovers, and he has made throws downfield. Defensively, the team has been mostly solid this season, but it has lacked game-changing plays in a lot of games. This past Sunday against the Texans, the unit made some of those plays. It has given the team some momentum, and hope.  
**Q:** Washington's offense and quarterback Jayden Daniels, both of which started the season hot, have regressed over their past five games. What kind of challenges will Tennessee's defense provide them?  
**A:** The Titans are good up front. Jeffery Simmons and T'Vondre Sweat are disruptive forces who can move the pocket. The defense has dealt with injuries in the secondary, playing without cornerbacks L'Jarius Sneed and Chidobe Awuzie, most of the season. Jarvis Brownlee Jr. and Darrell Baker have stepped up in their absence. The Titans will need to be disciplined against a talented quarterback such as Daniels.  
**Q:** What's your bold prediction for Sunday's game?  
**A:** Working for the team now, I don't do predictions any longer. If I picked the team to win, I would be called a homer. If I picked the team to lose, folks would think: "Man, this guy works for the team, and he doesn't believe the team can win." The Titans have been competitive most Sundays, even during a 3-8 season. I expect the team to have a chance in this one entering the fourth quarter.

Trivia question

Curt Knight kicked five field goals and Ron McDole returned an interception for a touchdown to lead Washington to a 22-13 win over the Houston Oilers in the first meeting between the franchises. The victory improved Washington to 4-0 in George Allen's first year at the helm. What year was it?

Previous meeting

**Oct. 9, 2022: Titans 21, Commanders 17:** Carson Wentz threw an interception at the goal line in the final seconds to clinch a fourth straight loss that dropped the Commanders to 1-4. Titans running back Derrick Henry rushed for 102 yards and two touchdowns on 28 carries.

Game day grub

*Each week, we will recommend recipes related to the Commanders' opponent. Get the recipes at postsports.com.*  
When I think Nashville, I think honky-tonk and hot chicken. If you would like, you can make fried chicken sandwiches with hot honey and buttermilk slaw spicier than the 2018 beef between Josh Norman and Taylor Lewan. (How's that for a deep cut?) You also can substitute mushrooms for chicken to make it vegan.

Trivia answer

Washington's "Over the Hill Gang" started 5-0 en route to a 9-4-1 season in 1971. The season culminated in the franchise's first playoff berth since 1945.  
— *Jake Russell and Scott Allen*

OTHER GAMES

<b>Cardinals at Vikings</b> , 1 p.m. (WBFF-45) <b>Chargers at Falcons</b> , 1 p.m.	<b>Steelers at Bengals</b> , 1 p.m. <b>Texans at Jaguars</b> , 1 p.m.	<b>Colts at Patriots</b> , 1 p.m. <b>Seahawks at Jets</b> , 1 p.m.	<b>Rams at Saints</b> , 4:05 p.m. (WTTG-5) <b>Buccaneers at Panthers</b> , 4:05 p.m. <b>Eagles at Ravens</b> , 4:25 p.m. (CBS)	<b>49ers at Bills</b> , 8:20 p.m. (NBC) <b>Browns at Broncos</b> , Monday, 8:15 p.m. (ESPN)
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AFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	9	2	0	.818	320	214	Houston	7	5	0	.583	285	268	Pittsburgh	8	3	0	.727	252	186	Kansas City	11	1	0	.917	289	235
Miami	5	7	0	.417	232	266	Indianapolis	5	7	0	.417	242	274	Baltimore	8	4	0	.667	364	294	L.A. Chargers	7	4	0	.636	243	175
N.Y. Jets	3	8	0	.273	204	242	Tennessee	3	8	0	.273	202	290	Cincinnati	4	7	0	.364	297	296	Denver	7	5	0	.583	264	202
New England	3	9	0	.250	197	282	Jacksonville	2	9	0	.182	208	316	Cleveland	3	8	0	.273	186	267	Las Vegas	2	10	0	.167	223	333

NFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA	WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Philadelphia	9	2	0	.818	296	199	Atlanta	6	5	0	.545	244	274	Detroit	11	1	0	.917	383	203	Arizona	6	5	0	.545	244	236
Washington	7	5	0	.583	334	277	Tampa Bay	5	6	0	.455	309	273	Minnesota	9	2	0	.818	274	197	Seattle	6	5	0	.545	246	244
Dallas	5	7	0	.417	248	339	New Orleans	4	7	0	.364	262	260	Green Bay	9	3	0	.750	318	240	L.A. Rams	5	6	0	.455	233	276
N.Y. Giants	2	10	0	.167	183	279	Carolina	3	8	0	.273	194	340	Chicago	4	8	0	.333	241	240	San Francisco	5	6	0	.455	260	260



PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

Commanders part ways with 2023 first-rounder Forbes

BY NICKI JHABVALA

Another one, gone. The Washington Commanders waived cornerback Emmanuel Forbes Jr. on Saturday, leaving them without any of their first-round draft picks from 2019 to 2023 on the roster. All six of those players have been traded or cut.

Forbes was selected with the 16th pick in 2023 out of Mississippi State, largely because of his Football Bowl Subdivision career record of six interceptions returned for touchdowns. Senior personnel executive Martin Mayhew, who was the Commanders' general manager at the time, described Forbes as a "difference-maker" and a "game changer." Along with then-coach Ron Rivera, Mayhew offered no concerns

about his slender, 6-foot-1, 166-pound frame when Washington drafted him.

But Forbes struggled to create that kind of production in the pros. Last year, he was burned in coverage by Philadelphia Eagles wide receiver A.J. Brown in Week 4, then was benched after Week 5 because of blown coverages in a 40-20 loss to the Chicago Bears. Later in the season, Forbes was ejected and fined for a helmet-to-helmet hit.

A new regime and a fresh start didn't help.

Forbes was listed as a backup on the initial depth chart but started the season opener at Tampa Bay. But he suffered a thumb injury in the loss, missed the following two games and hadn't started since. Washington

shifted rookie slot cornerback Mike Sainristil to the outside, opposite Benjamin St-Juste, and turned to Noah Igbinoghene inside.

Before the trade deadline, Washington acquired Marshon Lattimore in an attempt to upgrade the position. Lattimore is dealing with a hamstring injury and is doubtful to play Sunday against Tennessee; he has yet to make his Washington debut.

Forbes saw the field sparingly after his injury. Since Week 4, he played just 74 defensive snaps in five games, recording one interception. In 20 games with the Commanders, he totaled two interceptions and allowed five touchdowns in coverage.

Should Forbes go unclaimed on waivers, the Commanders will

eat approximately \$8.5 million in dead money — guaranteed money that counts against the salary cap — this season and another \$4.1 million in 2025.

Forbes joins a lengthy list of recent high draft picks by Washington to be jettisoned by the franchise. The team traded defensive ends Montez Sweat (No. 26 overall, 2019) and Chase Young (No. 2 overall, 2020) before last year's deadline. (Quarterback Dwayne Haskins, another 2019 first-round pick, was waived in late 2020.) Earlier this year, Washington traded wide receiver Jahan Dotson (No. 16 overall, 2022) to Philadelphia and released linebacker Jamin Davis (No. 19 overall, 2021).

Safety Quan Martin and running back Chris Rodriguez Jr. are

the only members of the Commanders' 2023 draft class still on the active roster. (Seventh-round pick Andre Jones Jr. is on the practice squad.) Of the 43 players Washington drafted from 2019 to 2023, only 12 are still on the active roster.

**Ekeler to injured reserve**

The Commanders also placed running back Austin Ekeler on injured reserve because of a concussion he suffered in Sunday's loss to the Dallas Cowboys. Ekeler must miss at least four games, making the season finale at Dallas his earliest possible return.

Ekeler was injured on a kickoff return in the final seconds and appeared to be unconscious on the field as the medical staff rushed to his side. He later

walked off with assistance but was clearly discombobulated. He was taken to a hospital for evaluation.

He entered the concussion protocol, as did right tackle Andrew Wylie. On Friday, both were ruled out for Sunday's game. Ekeler's absence leaves the Commanders with Brian Robinson Jr. (who has dealt with multiple injuries), Jeremy McNichols and Rodriguez (who re-signed this week) at running back.

For Sunday's game, the Commanders elevated defensive tackle Carl Davis and kicker Zane Gonzalez from the practice squad. This is the third and final game that the Commanders can elevate Gonzalez before having to sign him to the active roster to keep him.

The next big test for the Sun Belt-nurtured Daniels: Battling the cold weather

COMMANDERS FROM D1

gusts. And Daniels has regularly looked shaky in suboptimal conditions.

Asked this past week if he is affected by colder temperatures and how he will prepare for a potentially wintry game this weekend, Daniels grinned.

"[I'll] play football," he said. "I don't know. We'll figure it out on Sunday."

The question of how Daniels will handle challenging weather is important not just in his rookie season, when three of the final five regular season games will be outdoors, but also for the rest of his career.



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Commanders quarterback Jayden Daniels occasionally has donned a balaclava this season, but he says it is for fashion and not warmth.

Even though domed stadiums are becoming more common across the league, the NFL still has 20 open-air venues and regularly holds games in difficult conditions, which Cleveland and Pittsburgh highlighted Nov. 21 in a picturesque snow bowl. If Washington makes the playoffs, it could face three NFC teams that play outdoors: Philadelphia, Seattle and/or Green Bay. And Washington's NFC East schedule includes annual outdoor games in Philadelphia and East Rutherford, New Jersey.

Some NFL teams have struggled to adapt to such conditions. The Miami Dolphins, for example, have lost 12 straight games in which the temperature at kickoff was 40 degrees or below. Last year, in a frigid first-round game, the Kansas City Chiefs had a significant advantage over the Dolphins because Patrick Mahomes could still throw the ball effectively and Tua Tagovailoa could not.

"I don't think [the Dolphins] were anticipating us throwing the ball quite as much as we did," Chiefs Coach Andy Reid said afterward. "But we were able to come out and sling it. A lot of quarterbacks can't do it, what [Mahomes] did, in that type of weather."

Before he transferred from Arizona State in 2022, Daniels took a February visit to Missouri on a day when the high was 25 degrees. The weather made LSU director of player retention Sherman Wilson more optimistic about landing Daniels.

"I was like, there ain't no way he's going to Missouri: It's cold," Wilson said in an interview over

the summer, adding, "He's a California kid."

In April, while in Detroit for the NFL draft, Daniels shivered through a community event when temperatures were in the low 40s. When a reporter asked what he thought of the city, he deadpanned, "It's cold, man."

This season, Daniels hasn't played in many cold games, but he has occasionally worn a long left sleeve and a balaclava. (Daniels said the balaclava was for fashion, not warmth.) But he said the in-game wraps he has received on his ribs were for warmth, not injury.

"As it gets colder, you don't want your body parts to get cold," he said last month.

In college, Daniels looked uncomfortable in the cold early in games. He wore long sleeves, stuffed his hands in a warmer around his waist and had some uncharacteristic misses while throwing.

His teams often adopted run-heavy approaches, and aside from a blowout of UAB when Daniels was at LSU, he appeared far from his prolific self.

In games against power conference opponents with a tempera-

ture above 50 degrees at or around kickoff, Daniels averaged 18-for-28 passing (65.5 percent) for 240 yards and two touchdowns with no interceptions.

In games against power conference opponents with temperatures below 50 degrees at or around kickoff, Daniels averaged 12-for-21 passing (52.4 percent) for 121 yards and one touchdown with one interception.

His average rushing attempts ticked up in the colder games (from 12 to 15), but his rushing yards more than halved (from 67 to 30).

Sometimes in those cold games, Daniels warmed up to make big throws late, such as in an Arizona State win over Oregon State in 2021.

Other times, such as in a loss to Utah in 2019, Daniels never found a rhythm. In the game, he dropped a snap and slipped on a scramble, although the Utes' defensive talent seemed to be as much of a factor as the weather.

The coldest game Daniels has ever played in, he said, was Nov. 12, 2022, at Arkansas. It was 38 degrees at kickoff, and the conditions were worsened by the

grounds crew, which, according to the ESPN broadcast, sprayed water on the frigid field; it's unclear whether that was an accident or a strategy to try to slow Daniels's running. Either way, it left the field slick and slushy, and in the first half, Daniels lost a fumble, threw an interception (off a batted pass) and took five sacks.

In the second half, Daniels rebounded by ripping a deep pass to set up a short touchdown run, which ultimately sealed LSU's 13-10 win.

When Daniels was asked about that game this past week, he laughed and said: "It was cold. That's the main [thing I remember]."

During the predraft process, Washington Coach Dan Quinn said, the Commanders didn't evaluate Daniels's play in inclement weather.

And to be fair, Northwest Stadium isn't usually an inhospitable place to play. Since 2020, the team has played 39 home games; 11 kicked off at 50 degrees or colder, and none had winds stronger than 20 mph, according to TruMedia.

On Friday, Quinn said he considers wind the biggest factor that affects quarterbacks and expressed confidence in Daniels's ability to play through any weather.

The team practiced outside all week, when temperatures were between the low 40s and 50s, and on Thursday, the wind gusted to 30 mph, according to Weather Underground.

"We're an outdoor team, and this is where we play," Quinn said. "We've only had one practice inside since training camp. ... We had one last Friday that we had to [go inside due to rain]. But by and large, we're going to practice outside as often as we can, and he's done a good job with that."

Offensive coordinator Kliff Kingsbury said he wouldn't change the game plan against Tennessee because of the weather.

"You just have to go play," he said, and he pointed to a QB he coached at Texas Tech. "Mahomes never played in cold weather [growing up in Texas], and he's about as good as I've ever seen now in Kansas City. So it's just a thing that the great ones adapt to and compete and find a way to get it done."

JERRY BREWER

Barkley and Henry helped teams find a higher gear

BREWER FROM D1

302 total yards from scrimmage last Sunday against the Los Angeles Rams, Barkley has a firmer position in the MVP discussion, perhaps alongside Buffalo Bills quarterback Josh Allen. Henry, who rushed for a measly 140 yards on that same SoFi Stadium turf the next day, sits just on the outskirts of that conversation, sharing the spotlight with Jackson.

When the Eagles (9-2) visit the Ravens (8-4) on Sunday, the audience can play a game of "Who's better?" with the two running backs. But it's more worthwhile to consider what their success means in a league that long has devalued what used to be a premier position.

The NFL hasn't had two 1,300-yard backs play each other since 2012. It happened in the second-to-last week of the regular season when Minnesota's Adrian Peterson and Houston's Arian Foster shared the field.

This NFL season hasn't reached its final quarter, but Barkley and Henry have surpassed the 1,300-yard marker. It proves how rare it is now for offenses to stay committed to the run, and they're even less inclined to rely so heavily on a single ballcarrier.

The 2012 season was also the last time a non-quarterback was named MVP. Peterson ran for 2,097 yards and 12 touchdowns that year. Barkley is on pace for 2,151. Henry, who had a 2,027-yard season in 2020, is on pace for 1,877. However, you must remember that Peterson accomplished his feat in a 16-game regular season. The current 17-game format skews statistical breakthroughs. Peterson averaged 131.1 rushing yards in his MVP campaign. Barkley is at 126.5.

"First of all, Saquon, slow your ass down," Henry said. "Damn. He's a hell of a player, man."

Eric Dickerson holds the record for rushing yards in a season, totaling 2,105 (131.6 per



KYUSUNG GONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS; GARY A. VASQUEZ/IMAGN IMAGES

**Philadelphia's Saquon Barkley, left, has an NFL-leading 1,392 rushing yards this season. Baltimore's Derrick Henry has 1,325.**

game) in 1984. A 2,000-yard rusher resonates more in this pass-obsessed era, regardless of the number of games it could take. The potential for two would have been unfathomable last offseason. It's a random, special season more than a sign of change. Still, running backs will take what they can get.

The days ended long ago when teams would start their rebuilding projects looking to pair a stable quarterback with a dynamic tailback. They're far more likely to covet a wide

receiver to create a tandem such as the Joe Burrow-Ja'Marr Chase combination in Cincinnati. Running back is more of a finishing piece. It's important to find one (or a couple) when the time is right.

Look at what happens when you add an elite back to a well-constructed group. The San Francisco 49ers did it two years ago, trading for Christian McCaffrey and widening their championship window. But that move now seems like a fair deal in comparison with what the

Ravens and Eagles did. Baltimore signed Henry to a two-year, \$16 million deal with incentives that could push him to \$20 million. Philadelphia inked Barkley to a three-year, \$37 million contract that came with \$26 million in guarantees.

The league's third-leading rusher, Josh Jacobs, also was a free agent last offseason. Green Bay lured him from the Las Vegas Raiders with a four-year, \$48 million deal. In that same cycle, the Houston Texans traded for Joe Mixon and then gave him a three-year extension. Mixon, who has missed time because of injury, is averaging 87.3 rushing yards per game, which ranks third in the NFL.

Six of the league's top 10 backs switched teams during the offseason. Five of them are essential parts of teams in comfortable playoff position. Teams fear injury attrition at the position. They prefer to avoid subjecting their backs to the punishment of 20 to 25 carries every game. And they absolutely refuse to pay top dollar for veterans with high mileage, no matter their level of productivity. But even with diminished value, a great running back can vault a good team toward greatness.

"We want to just go out there and do our job," said Henry, who

already has a Hall of Fame résumé. "Do our job effectively, show that position matters, and hopefully, we've been doing that well enough to add value for the future of this position."

In terms of total value, Henry's contract is barely in the top 10 at his position. Few veterans have provided greater value. He and Barkley won't change the market for running backs on this season alone. But they see the young crop of multidimensional backs — Bijan Robinson in Atlanta, Jahmyr Gibbs in Detroit — and hope they're altering perceptions for the future.

"It's a great time for us to be able to have success," Henry said. "Hopefully, it bounces off to other guys that are coming up and getting an opportunity to get paid."

As Hill said, running backs never went away. But in an NFL that now emphasizes defensive speed and the ability to make plays in space, it's advantageous for offenses to return to elements of power football. That's why the top five rushing offenses and the majority of the top 10 look like safe bets to make the playoffs.

Most of them didn't start with an elite run game. They sure are prioritizing it now, and there's no doubting their wisdom.



# In Hayes’s return to London, Americans get a draw

UNITED STATES 0,  
ENGLAND 0

BY SAMUEL PETREQUIN

LONDON — Emma Hayes oversaw a dominant display from her U.S. women's national team at a packed Wembley Stadium without tasting victory on her return to England on Saturday.

Hayes, a Londoner who coached the U.S. women to the Olympic soccer gold medal this past summer after 14 major trophies at Chelsea, came home for a friendly against European champion England.

In a matchup of the two best

women's teams in the FIFA rankings, the Americans had the best chances, but the game ended in a goalless draw.

“I’m super proud of the way we imposed ourselves on the game. It’s just the last part of the pitch,” Hayes said. “Generally, I’m pleased with the performance.”

The United States was without its injured attacking trio of Trinity Rodman, Sophia Smith and Mallory Swanson. The quality among the visitors still overwhelmed England, which had injury issues, too. Forward Lauren Hemp and defender Maya Le Tissier were ruled out.

Alyssa Thompson’s curling shot forced an early parry from England goalkeeper Mary Earps

as the United States pinned England in its half. The Americans dominated possession and earned a lot of space to develop their game and press high.

But they lacked an edge in the final third and could not break the deadlock.

Sam Coffey’s shot from the edge of the box in the 44th minute was easily stopped by Earps, and at the start of the second half U.S. captain Lindsey Horan had a goal disallowed, then missed the target with an angled shot.

The Americans also received a penalty, but it was reversed after video review showed the ball hit Alex Greenwood’s chest and not her arm.

But one of the most successful

coaches in the women’s game was left satisfied. Hayes won seven Women’s Super League titles in a 12-year reign at Chelsea. During that time, the men’s team had 11 different managers.

She was asked how she felt about being in the away dugout and listening to the English national anthem.

“You can be two things at once,” Hayes said. “I’m a proud Englishwoman who is proud to coach America. I don’t have to choose. I definitely love both countries.”

— Associated Press

**United States at Netherlands**  
Tuesday, 2:45 p.m., TNT, Universo



PETER CZIBORRA/ACTION IMAGES/REUTERS

**U.S. midfielder Sam Coffey battles with England’s Fran Kirby. The Americans dominated possession Saturday but did not score.**

# Caps dance with Devils and prevail on the road

CAPITALS FROM D1

Lindgren said. “That’s the thing about this group. You look at the game [Friday] against the Islanders. It wasn’t pretty. We find a way to battle back and get the two points [in overtime]. Tonight, played some really good hockey, they pushed back, and then we pushed back, and we find ourselves with two points against a really good hockey team.”

Saturday’s game slightly altered the script from the previous three. This time, the Capitals scored the first goal, which they hadn’t done since they hosted New Jersey a week earlier in a 3-2 loss. Winger Andrew Mangiapane put Washington ahead at 6:19 of the first period by collecting a rebound of his own shot at the front of the net and pushing it past Allen.

Forward Hendrix Lapierre, who has been a healthy scratch at times this season but has started to click with Mangiapane and center Lars Eller after moving to the wing, began the play with a skillful rush through the neutral zone before he dished to Mangiapane from behind the net.

Despite recording just five shots in the opening period, the Devils responded just over four minutes later with a goal from captain Nico Hischier. Luke Hughes set up Hischier for a backhand shot past Lindgren’s toe at the side of the crease.

Allen made several highlight-reel saves on a Washington power play later in the period to keep the score level, and just 2:38 into the second period, New Jersey took the lead when a shot from defenseman Brett Pesce deflected off Justin Dowling in the slot and found the net.

“There was a lot of ebbs and flows and swings in the game, momentum and emotionally, for players and coaches on both sides,” Capitals Coach Spencer Carbery said. “Power play, to get us that lead into the second intermission, stepped up huge with the double minor to get two.”

Trailing by a goal, the Capitals received an extended power play after the Devils’ Dawson Mercer drew blood when he hit center Dylan Strome up high with his stick. Though Washington is without captain Alex Ovechkin, the centerpiece of its power play for so many years who is out with a broken left fibula, the power play has been red-hot. That continued Saturday with a 3-for-5



PAMELA SMITH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Taylor Raddysh’s third-period goal helped the Capitals move into first place in the Eastern Conference.**

showing.

Forward Connor McMichael scored his 14th goal of the season at 9:49, firing a one-timer from the slot off a pass from center Pierre-Luc Dubois. Just 1:07 later, defenseman Jakob Chychrun scored his third goal in the past four games with what’s quickly becoming his trademark wrister from the top of the circles, a blistering shot that Allen had no chance of stopping.

“[Eller had] a great break-in. Finds Chych, who’s on fire right now,” Dubois said. “We’ve got to keep finding Chych. That helps. But after that, we just keep moving the puck. It’s never easy [for the penalty killers] when it can come from anybody.”

Defenseman Rasmus Sandin extended Washington’s lead with just 12 seconds left in the period on yet another power play. Winger Ivan Miroschnichenko stuck with an extended battle behind the net and eventually emerged with the puck before tapping it to Sandin for a quick-release wrister.

On the first shift of the third period, though, winger Tom Wilson tripped Hischier in the neutral zone, sending New Jersey to the power play. Stefan Noesen pulled the Devils within one with a tap-in finish from the doorstep off a pass from Jack Hughes at

2:03.

Just 2:12 later, the Devils’ Jesper Bratt tied the score with a deflection at the side of the net on a shot by Jack Hughes.

The teams’ three previous meetings were tightly fought. New Jersey won the first by two but scored an empty-netter with eight seconds left for that cushion. The other two were decided by a goal, so it was only fitting that the final meeting also was close.

It wasn’t until there were just over six minutes remaining that the Capitals broke through to pull back into the lead. Amid a strong shift from the fourth line, winger Taylor Raddysh started a line change with Washington in possession, and he quickly found himself on the receiving end of a shot-pass from defenseman Martin Fehervary that he deflected past Allen at 13:54.

“What a shift,” Carbery said. “... That’s a massive play in a big moment in a tied hockey game.”

And just 10 seconds later, Dubois extended the Capitals’ lead by hitting the empty net — left vacated by Allen as he attempted to play the puck behind the net before he was forced into a turnover by winger Aliaksei Protas.

Up two again, Washington still didn’t make life easy for itself —

CAPITALS’ NEXT THREE		
<b>vs. San Jose Sharks</b>		
Tuesday	7	Monumental
<b>at Toronto Maple Leafs</b>		
Friday	7	Monumental
<b>at Montreal Canadiens</b>		
Saturday	7	Monumental 2
Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WFED (1500 AM)		

Eller took a tripping penalty shortly after Dubois scored, and Noesen cut New Jersey’s deficit to one with another power-play tally at 16:45.

The Capitals had to keep hanging on after the Devils pulled Allen for an extra attacker. It wasn’t always pretty, and neither was the rest of the game, but it was enough for Washington to move into first place.

“Feels good. A lot of hockey to be played, but when you’re at the top like that right now, you start getting a target on your back,” Dubois said. “Teams start playing their best games. We’re not surprising anybody anymore. Still a lot of hockey, but we’re playing well, and we can keep rolling.”

WIZARDS’ NEXT THREE		
<b>at Cleveland Cavaliers</b>		
Tuesday	7	Monumental 2
<b>vs. Dallas Mavericks</b>		
Thursday	7	Monumental
<b>vs. Denver Nuggets</b>		
Saturday	7	Monumental
Radio: WTEM (980 AM) or WFED (1500 AM)		

baly’s workload],” Keefe said. “You just do it. This is part of the deal. If you want to be great — which he does — you got to get it done on both ends.”

The challenge will not be unique to Coulibaly. The Wizards drafted three rookies — Alex Sarr, Bub Carrington and Kyshawn George — who will be expected to contribute on both ends of the floor, too.

“That’s what it takes to win in this league,” Keefe said.

# Antetokounmpo, Lillard school scuffling Wizards

WIZARDS FROM D1

Coach Brian Keefe said before the game. “He’s our best defender ... but he’s also very much an evolving offensive player who’s turning into a playmaker. ... He wants to be able to do both. So that’s the great thing about him — he wants the challenge, and he wants to grow.”

Washington led in the first half and stayed close for most of the game, trailing by two with under five minutes left, before losing its 14th in a row. The Wizards (2-16) got 31 points from Jordan Poole and 29 from Malcolm Brogdon.

Giannis Antetokounmpo led all scorers with 42 points and rounded out his triple-double with 12 rebounds and 11 assists for the Bucks (10-9). The other half of Milwaukee’s superstar tan-

dem and Coulibaly’s primary assignment, Damian Lillard, notched 25 points and 10 assists.

It would be unfair to pin Lillard’s night entirely on Coulibaly, who often played tight defense and was victimized by one of the best shooters of this era. Lillard scored just seven points in the second half, when he shot 2 for 7 from the field.

“Not worried about [Coulibaly] at all,” Keefe said after the game. “Defensive was impressive still. Lillard hit some tough shots, but I thought in the second half he really made him work.”

But Coulibaly’s offensive struggles continued a troubling trend.

He scored 17 or more points in four of his first five games. He has reached that mark just twice in his past 12 games, a stretch in which he’s averaging 9.8 points

## DCSAA CLASS A FOOTBALL FINAL

# Bulldogs’ ‘all-in’ buy-in pays off with first title

ST. ALBANS 40,  
BELL 34 (OT)

BY MATT COHEN

St. Albans football coach Orion Martin could hardly keep his head up to smile for the team photo. His eyes were already red from tears, and more were coming. He buried his head in his hands as his players posed with their trophy. He cried for the years it took to build St. Albans into something it had never been: a state champion.

When his Bulldogs beat Bell, 40-34, in overtime Saturday night at Georgetown University, Martin saw a years-long plan come to fruition with the D.C. State Athletic Association Class A title.

“We’ve come so far,” he said through tears. “We were so bad when I first got here. These kids, they pulled together. They bought in to football.”

Senior wide receiver Lacy Rice — named the game’s MVP with nine catches for 193 yards and four touchdowns — had the winning catch for St. Albans, a 10-yard strike from Brett Paukstis. The Bulldogs forced overtime thanks to Rice’s 13-yard touchdown catch with 1:38 left in the fourth quarter. Paukstis, a sophomore, finished with 412 passing yards and six touchdowns.

Lifting the DCSAA trophy is the loftiest goal for many teams in this division — but not St. Albans. The Bulldogs (9-4) were able to play only because of a bit of scheduling luck. Most years, St. Albans isn’t eligible to compete in the DCSAA playoffs because its rivalry game with Landon falls on the same week as the first round of the Class

A postseason. Martin said his team prioritizes the Interstate Athletic Conference matchup.

But last fall, Martin checked the schedule for 2024 and realized the Landon game was set for the week before the DCSAA playoffs began. St. Albans would be able to play in both for the first time since 2019.

Martin talked with his juniors last season, knowing they would be the senior leaders if St. Albans were to pursue a state title. He asked whether they wanted to play extra games that would intrude into the winter sports season.

“Do we want to do it?” Martin recalled asking his team. “Do we want to be committed? If you’re not, I don’t want to sit here and say that we’re going to go to the playoffs if you guys are not committed.’ They were excited. We’re all-in.”

Rice said that meant upper-classmen taking responsibility to pick up teammates for 6:30 a.m. workouts and “building a community” around the team. It paid off.

“My coach says it all the time — we’re really changing the program here,” Rice said.

Bell (10-3) had considered forfeiting the game, Coach Daniel Tyson said Wednesday. Five players were suspended after a fight in the handshake line following Bell’s Gravy Bowl win over Anacostia a week earlier. The suspensions were upheld on appeal, Tyson said, but the Griffins decided to play.

Bell surged to a 22-7 lead in the first quarter before St. Albans rallied. Griffins junior running back Antonio Washington filled in at quarterback for a suspended player; he finished with 162 passing yards and four touchdowns to go with 157 yards and a touchdown on the ground.

## VIRGINIA CLASS 4 REGION C FOOTBALL FINAL

# Banged-up Huskies take it directly to the Knights

TUSCARORA 42,  
CHAMPE 16

BY NICKY WOLCOTT

At the start of the season, Tuscarora football coach Jared Toler never could have imagined his Huskies lining up in this formation with that personnel in an important game.

But with Toler’s team attempting to clinch a second consecutive region title, senior Dawson Pough, a three-star recruit committed to Boston College to play wide receiver, lined up in shotgun formation behind all 10 of his teammates to take a direct snap.

Tuscarora had run draws with Pough in this formation throughout Saturday’s game at undefeated Champe — but with seven Huskies on the line of scrimmage and three in the backfield in front of him.

This time, Pough didn’t make it past the line of scrimmage. Instead, he patiently waited for the play to develop and delivered a jump pass to wide-open Alexander McBride, who walked in for a 19-yard touchdown.

That put the finishing touches on Tuscarora’s dominant 42-16 victory over No. 18 Champe in the Class 4 Region C final in Aldie.

“When [Champe] had to call a timeout, I said: ‘Guys, we didn’t plan to be in this type of formation at the beginning of the year, but look at where it is. It can end the game for us,’” Toler said. “They’ve just continued to love each other, trust each other, endure injury after injury, emo-

tional loss, physical loss.”

With their 10th win in a row, the Huskies advanced to a Virginia Class 4 semifinal at Varina next Saturday. A win would secure the fourth state championship game appearance since the school opened in 2010. The Huskies are still seeking their first state title.

The day’s final touchdown was emblematic of the sort of change Tuscarora has endured. The Huskies’ first two quarterbacks went down with injuries early in the year. They have coped thanks to a strong running game and have mixed in plenty of direct snaps to players such as Pough alongside third-string quarterback Peter Laiti.

Pough opened the scoring for the Huskies (11-1) in the first quarter by taking a direct snap in a similar formation and running it in from one yard. With starting running back Zakk Wolovich sidelined by an injury, Oliver Chaplain and Zain Elian added second-quarter rushing scores to give Tuscarora a 20-3 halftime lead.

Elian broke off a 65-yard rushing touchdown in the second quarter to respond to the Knights’ first score, and Pough’s 45-yard scamper put Tuscarora up 34-10 in the third. Champe (11-1) added another touchdown late, but Tuscarora’s dominant defense controlled the line of scrimmage and largely shut down the Knights.

“I love our defense so much,” said Pough, who also plays defensive back. “Our D-line is amazing. When the quarterback has to drop back and get rid of the ball immediately, it makes life easier on our DBs.”



## SCOREBOARD

## COLLEGE FOOTBALL

## No. 13 Alabama 28, Auburn 14

AUBURN	0	6	8	0	— 14
ALABAMA	7	7	14	0	— 28

## FIRST QUARTER

ALA: Milroe 19 run (Nicholson kick), 3:18.

## SECOND QUARTER

AUB: FG Vachon 37, 8:27.

ALA: Milroe 1 run (Nicholson kick), 2:44.

AUB: FG Vachon 25, :27.

## THIRD QUARTER

ALA: Haynes 2 run (Nicholson kick), 11:13.

ALA: Milroe 17 run (Nicholson kick), 6:54.

AUB: Coleman 29 pass from Thorne (Hunter run), 2:31.

Attendance: 100,077.

	Auburn	Alabama
First Downs	24	25
Total Net Yards	399	457
Rushes-Yards	23-98	54-201
Passing	301	256
Punt Returns	1-3	1-3
Kickoff Returns	3-33	2-38
Interceptions Ret.	1-0	2-3
Comp-Att-Int	24-42-2	18-24-1
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-6	1-1
Punts	4-41-7	3-42-0
Fumbles-Lost	1-1	4-3
Penalties-Yards	4-46	6-66
Time Of Possession	23:25	36:35

## PASSING

Auburn: Thorne 24-41-1-301, Hunter 0-1-1-0. **Alabama:** Milroe 18-24-1-256.

## RUSHING

Auburn: Hunter 13-56, Thorne 10-42. **Alabama:** Milroe 17-104, Miller 28-84, Haynes 7-20, (Team) 1-(minus 2), R.Williams 1-(minus 5).

## RECEIVING

Auburn: Lambert-Smith 8-116, Coleman 7-78, Simmons 4-34, Fairweather 3-55, Alston 1-15, Deal 1-3. **Alabama:** Bernard 7-111, R.Williams 3-53, Dippie 3-46, Cuevas 3-31, Ouzts 2-15.

## No. 14 Arizona State 49, Arizona 7

ARIZONA STATE	14	21	0	14	— 49
ARIZONA	0	0	7	0	— 7

## FIRST QUARTER

ASU: Skattebo 2 run (Lewis kick), 9:32.

ASU: Skattebo 3 run (Lewis kick), 5:37.

## SECOND QUARTER

ASU: Tyson 13 pass from Leavitt (Lewis kick), 13:29.

ASU: Skattebo 3 run (Lewis kick), 6:28.

ASU: Metayer 22 pass from Leavitt (Lewis kick), :41.

## THIRD QUARTER

ASU: McMillan 28 pass from Fiftita (Loop kick), 10:53.

## FOURTH QUARTER

ASU: Gueiblo 31 pass from Leavitt (Lewis kick), 14:55.

ASU: Eusebio 64 pass from T.Bourquet (Kieffer kick), 10:56.

Attendance: 49,813.

	Arizona St.	Arizona
First Downs	24	15
Total Net Yards	643	210
Rushes-Yards	40-281	27-84
Passing	362	126
Punt Returns	1-13	0-0
Kickoff Returns	0-0	2-74
Interceptions Ret.	1-16	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	19-25-0	14-31-1
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-16	2-16
Punts	1-37-0	6-44-333
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	0-0
Penalties-Yards	6-75	2-10
Time Of Possession	33:57	26:03

## PASSING

**Arizona State:** Leavitt 17-22-0-291, T.Bourquet 2-3-0-71. **Arizona:** Fiftita 14-29-0-126, Tannenbaum 0-2-1-0.

## RUSHING

**Arizona St:** Skattebo 21-177, K.Brown 8-100, D.Brooks 3-11, Eusebio 1-2, (Team) 3-(minus 3), Gueiblo 4-(minus 6). **Arizona:** Rescano 11-55, Conley 10-26, Fiftita 4-2, Garcia 1-1, Patterson 1-0.

## RECEIVING

**Arizona State:** Tyson 8-143, Stovall 3-35, Gueiblo 2-41, Metayer 2-33, Eusebio 1-64, K.Brown 1-31, Skattebo 1-8, C.Bourquet 1-7. **Arizona:** McMillan 6-68, Conley 3-25, C.Hunter 3-17, Powell 1-9, Hyatt 1-7.

## No. 22 Illinois 38, Northwestern 28

ILLINOIS	7	7	14	10	— 38
NORTHWESTERN	10	0	10	8	— 28

## FIRST QUARTER

NW: FG Akers 21, 9:31.

ILL: Laughery 30 run (Olano kick), 8:12.

NW: D.Turner 13 interception return (Akers kick), 2:14.

## SECOND QUARTER

ILL: Altmyer 1 run (Olano kick), 13:21.

## THIRD QUARTER

ILL: Laughery 64 pass from Olano (kick), 14:15.

ILL: P.Bryant 43 pass from Altmyer (Olano kick), 10:08.

NW: Gordon 15 pass from Lausch (Lang pass from Lausch), 1:00.

NW: Henning 11 pass from Lausch (Akers kick), 1:34.

## FOURTH QUARTER

ILL: Laughery 31 run (Olano kick), 12:15.

ILL: FG Olano 24, 11:06.

NW: Gordon 15 pass from Lausch (Lang pass from Lausch), 1:00.

Attendance: 26,378.

	Illinois	Northwestern
First Downs	14	28
Total Net Yards	382	442
Rushes-Yards	36-212	29-113
Passing	170	329
Punt Returns	2-12	2-32
Kickoff Returns	4-78	2-18
Interceptions Ret.	3-36	2-13
Comp-Att-Int	10-17-2	29-61-3
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-24	2-23
Punts	5-39-0	3-38-333
Fumbles-Lost	0-0	2-1
Penalties-Yards	7-50	2-10
Time Of Possession	24:28	35:32

## PASSING

**Illinois:** Altmyer 10-17-1-170. **Northwestern:** Lausch 25-48-2-287, Boe 1-13-2-40.

## RUSHING

**Illinois:** Laughery 12-172, McCray 11-46, Valentine 7-16, Anderson 1-4, (Team) 2-(minus 3). **Northwestern:** Henning 10-23, **Northwestern:** Porter 12-53, Komolafe 8-32, Lausch 5-22, Himon 3-21, Boe 1-(minus 15).

## RECEIVING

**Illinois:** P.Bryant 4-70, Franklin 3-54, Dixon 1-38, McCray 1-5, Arkin 1-3. **Northwestern:** Henning 10-11, Gordon 7-53, C.Johnson 3-39, Eligon 2-35, Kirtz 2-25, Wagner 2-24, Porter 1-28, Himon 1-4, Arthurs 1-2.

## No. 24 Missouri 28, Arkansas 21

ARKANSAS	0	7	7	7	— 21
MISSOURI	7	0	3	18	— 28

## FIRST QUARTER

MIZZ: Carroll 2 run (Craig kick), 2:23.

## SECOND QUARTER

ARK: J.Jackson 2 run (Shipley kick), 9:42.

## THIRD QUARTER

ARK: J.Jackson 12 run (Shipley kick), 11:41.

MIZZ: FG Craig 28, 3:06.

## FOURTH QUARTER

MIZZ: Carroll 1 run (Craig kick), 13:45.

MIZZ: FG Craig 24, 9:31.

ARK: J.Jackson 9 run (Shipley kick), 4:19.

MIZZ: Cook 30 run (Burden pass from Cook), 1:53.

Attendance: 62,621.

	Arkansas	Missouri
First Downs	23	18
Total Net Yards	377	361
Rushes-Yards	35-148	47-193
Passing	168	229
Punt Returns	1-11	0-0
Kickoff Returns	6-95	4-79
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	21-35-0	10-20-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-17	1-17
Punts	3-34-667	4-38-25
Fumbles-Lost	3-2	1-0
Penalties-Yards	10-72	7-46
Time Of Possession	28:21	31:39

## PASSING

**Arkansas:** Green 21-35-0-229. **Missouri:** Cook 10-20-0-168.

## RUSHING

**Arkansas:** J.Jackson 18-87, Green 14-53, Dubinin 2-6, R.Hill 1-2. **Missouri:** Carroll 22-90, Cook 11-63, Noel 10-25, Roberts 4-15.

## RECEIVING

**Arkansas:** Armstrong 9-128, TeSlaa 6-59, L.Hasz 3-22, J.Jackson 2-14, Sategna 1-6. **Missouri:** Wesse 4-100, Norflett 3-50, Burden 1-11, M.Johnson 1-7, Manning 1-0.

## PRO BASKETBALL

## NBA

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	11	8	.579	5
New York	11	8	.579	5
Brooklyn	9	11	.450	7½
Toronto	5	15	.250	11½
Philadelphia	4	14	.222	11½

SOUTHEAST	W	L	Pct	GB
Orlando	14	7	.667	3
Miami	9	8	.529	3
Atlanta	10	11	.476	4
Charlotte	6	14	.300	7½
Washington	2	16	.111	10½

CENTRAL	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	17	3	.850	—
Milwaukee	10	9	.526	6½
Indiana	9	11	.450	8
Detroit	9	13	.409	9
Chicago	8	13	.381	9½

## WESTERN CONFERENCE

HOUTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Southern	14	6	.700	—
Memphis	13	7	.650	1
x-Dallas	8	8	.500	2½
x-San Antonio	9	9	.500	3½
New Orleans	4	16	.200	10

NORTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Oklahoma City	15	4	.789	—
Denver	10	7	.588	4
Minnesota	9	10	.474	6
Portland	8	12	.400	7½
x-Utah	4	14	.222	10½

PACIFIC	W	L	Pct	GB
x-Golden State	12	6	.667	1½
L.A. Lakers	11	8	.579	1½
L.A. Clippers	12	9	.571	1½
x-Phoenix	10	8	.556	2
Sacramento	9	11	.450	4

x-Late game

## FRIDAY'S RESULTS

New York 99, at Charlotte 98 at Atlanta 117, Cleveland 101 at Memphis 120, New Orleans 109 at Minnesota 93, L.A. Clippers 92 Orlando 123, at Brooklyn 100 Boston 138, at Chicago 129 Detroit 130, at Indiana 106 at Miami 121, Toronto 111 at Portland 115, Sacramento 106 Oklahoma City 101, at L.A. Lakers 93

## SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at Milwaukee 124, Washington 114 Atlanta 107, at Charlotte 104 Philadelphia 111, at Detroit 96 Golden State at Phoenix, late Dallas at Utah, late

## SUNDAY'S GAMES

Indiana at Memphis, 3:30 Orlando at Brooklyn, 3:30 Boston at Cleveland, 6 Miami at Toronto, 6 New Orleans at New York, 6 Oklahoma City at Houston, 7 L.A. Lakers at Utah, 8 Dallas at Portland, 9 San Antonio at Sacramento, 9 Denver at L.A. Clippers, 10

## MONDAY'S GAMES

Miami at Boston, 7:30 New Orleans at Atlanta, 7:30 Brooklyn at Chicago, 8 L.A. Lakers at Minnesota, 8

## WIZARDS' NEXT THREE

at Cleveland Cavaliers

Thursday 7 Monumental 2

vs. Dallas Mavericks

Thursday 7 Monumental 2

vs. Denver Nuggets

Saturday 7 Monumental 2

Radio: WTEM (980 AM) or WFED (1500 AM)

Bucks 124, Wizards 114

WASHINGTON	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Coulibaly	35:51	2-8	0-0	2-2	4	3	4
Sarr	36:04	2-8	2-2	2-2	1	2	7
Valanciunas	30:48	6-9	4-4	1-7	5	4	16
Brogdon	30:06	10-15	7-7	0-1	2	2	29
Poole	34:13	10-23	8-9	0-4	3	3	31
Kispert	30:45	7-12	0-0	3-8	0	4	16
George	19:22	2-6	0-0	1-2	2	3	4
Carrington	15:44	1-5	0-0	0-3	2	2	3
Willie III	4:20	1-1	2-2	1-2	0	0	4
Gill	2:44	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
TOTALS	240	41-87	23-24	8-41	24	26	114

Percentages: FG .471, FT .958. 3-Point Goals: 9-32, 28.1 (Coulibaly 3-6, Daniels 4-10 0-0, Young 4-9 4-14, Okongwu 5-10 6-16, Hunter 5-9 7-18, Bufkin 3-9 3-4 9, Krejci 0-0-0-0, Matthews 1-31-3-4. Totals 38-72-21 37-107.

WASHINGTON MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS  
Coulibaly 35:51 2-8 0-0 2-2 4 3 4  
Sarr 36:04 2-8 2-2 2-2 1 2 7  
Valanciunas 30:48 6-9 4-4 1-7 5 4 16  
Brogdon 30:06 10-15 7-7 0-1 2 2 29  
Poole 34:13 10-23 8-9 0-4 3 3 31  
Kispert 30:45 7-12 0-0 3-8 0 4 16  
George 19:22 2-6 0-0 1-2 2 3 4  
Carrington 15:44 1-5 0-0 0-3 2 2 3  
Willie III 4:20 1-1 2-2 1-2 0 0 4  
Gill 2:44 0-0 0-0 0-0 0 0 0  
TOTALS 240 41-87 23-24 8-41 24 26 114

Percentages: FG .512, FT .800. 3-Point Goals: 16-36, 44.4 (Lillard 5-10, Lopez 4-10, Prince 3-4, Green 3-6, Portis 1-2, Trent Jr. 0-1, Jackson Jr. 0-3). Team Rebounds: 11. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 6 (Lopez 3, Antetokounmpo, Lillard, Prince). Turnovers: 11 (Antetokounmpo 4, Jackson Jr. 3, Lillard 2, Lopez, Trent Jr.). Steals: 5 (Lillard 3, Portis, Prince). Technical Fouls: 3, 13 (fourth). A: 17,341 (17,500).

Hawks 107, Hornets 104

ATLANTA	29	26	22	28	— 107
CHARLOTTE	32	18	26	28	— 104

ATLANTA: Johnson 8-12 0-0 20, Risacher 6-10 0-0 14, Capela 2-6 0-0 4, Daniels 4-10 0-0 8, Young 4-9 4-14, Okongwu 5-10 6-16, Hunter 5-9 7-18, Bufkin 3-9 3-4 9, Krejci 0-0-0-0, Matthews 1-31-3-4. Totals 38-72-21 37-107.

CHARLOTTE: Green 6-12 1-2 17, Salaun 0-8 0-0 0, Diabate 1-31-1-3, Micic 6-12-0-0 15, Miller 10-30 5-32, Martin 5-9 1-2 12, Richards 3-5 6-7 12, Curry 0-1 0-0 0, McCoin 0-3, Detroit 11-40 (Beasley 4-5, Ivey 3-8, Sasser 2-3, Thompson 1-2, Fontecchio 1-8, Moore Jr. 0-1, Holland II 0-2, Reed 0-2, Stewart 0-2, Harris 0-3, Hardaway Jr. 0-4). Fouled Out: None. Rebounds: Philadelphia 50 (George, Yabusele 8), Detroit 42 (Fontecchio 12, Micic 10, Caldwell 4, Vuc 4-5-3 (43 shots, 16 saves)). 5. Total Fouls: Philadelphia 21, Detroit 19. A: 22,062 (20,491).

76ers 111, Pistons 96

PHILADELPHIA	37	20	32	22	— 111
DETROIT	20	32	17	27	— 96

PHILADELPHIA: George 4-12 2-3 11, Yabusele 3-6 0-0 7, Drummond 2-3 0-0 4, Maxey 11-24 2-2 28, Oubre Jr. 6-11 0-0 14, K.Martin 7-8 4-5 19, Bona 1-2 2-5 4, Council IV 5-7 6-17, Edwards 0-0-0-0, Gordon 0-4 0-0 0, McCain 3-7 1-2 7, Quinones 0-1 0-0 0. Totals 42-85 16-22 111.

DETROIT: Hardaway Jr. 0-6 0-0 0, Harris 1-8 2-3 4, Duren 2-0-0-4, Beasley 6-9 3-19, Ivey 5-16 2-15, Fontecchio 2-12 2-7, Hollibaugh 19 (Maye 6), Detroit 22 (Hollibaugh 5-12, Thompson 4-5 0-1 9, Cunningham 0-0 0-0 0, Moore Jr. 4-9 3-3 11, Sasser 5-11 0-1 12. Totals 35-91 15-38 96.

Three-point Goals: Philadelphia 11-31 (Maxey 5-10, Oubre Jr. 2-5



# After ‘heartbreaking’ crash, Shiffrin’s latest coronation is put on unexpected hold



**Barry Svruga**

KILLINGTON, VT. — As contrasts go, what played out in the biting wind Saturday afternoon was striking. At the base of a demanding racecourse here, the public address announcer did his duty by trying to rally a sizable crowd — pulsing with energy just minutes before — to acknowledge the accomplishment of Sweden’s Sara Hector, who had just won a World Cup giant slalom race.

The fans managed a few claps, muffled both by ski gloves and diminishing enthusiasm. Most stared up the hill. Mikaela Shiffrin was lying on the side of the course, against a fence, in the snow, surrounded by people. To get there, she had to lose her balance, crash through a gate, blow off her right ski and somersault into uncertainty.

That’s enough to make the ski racing world hold its breath. As the light grew low, Shiffrin was “alert and being evaluated,” a spokesperson said. She was conscious throughout, and by late afternoon she was talking with her fiancé, Norwegian downhill champion Aleksander Aamodt Kilde, by phone.

Still, a weekend that was supposed to be her latest coronation instead is over prematurely. Her team said she would not ski in Sunday’s slalom, even though initial scans revealed no serious injury.

“It’s heartbreaking,” Hector said.

“It’s brutal,” said Elisabeth Bocock, a teenage teammate of the American star.

That’s the day. That’s the sport.

The focus of an adoring crowd and an international audience was on Shiffrin on Saturday because the focus in this sport seems to constantly fall on her. That would be true most years at Killington, one of the few domestic stops on the far-flung World Cup circuit. It was particularly true this week because she is at 99 World Cup victories. Taking her 100th on home soil would be a natural time to revisit her statistical dominance.

But the unexpected — and harrowing — wipeout left her not stepping to a podium but sharing an Instagram update from a hospital bed, trying to remain positive.

“Not really too much cause for concern at this point,” she said. “I just can’t move. I have a pretty good abrasion and something stabbed me” — and the video revealed a cut. “... I am so sorry



JOSEPH PREZIOSO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Mikaela Shiffrin was seeking her 100th World Cup win Saturday in Killington, Vermont, when she crashed during the giant slalom race.

to scare everybody, and it looks like all scans so far are clear, so thank you for the support and concern.”

So 100 will wait. In some ways, it is just a number because nobody else has 99 victories — or 98 or ... on and on. Shiffrin, 29, passed compatriot Lindsey Vonn for the most World Cup wins in Alpine skiing by a woman in January 2023. Two months later, she passed Swedish legend Ingemar Stenmark with her 87th victory, the most for any human. Every notch on the belt is uncharted territory.

“I feel like, how incredible is it to be in the position where we’re even talking about 100 World Cup victories?” Shiffrin said on the eve of Saturday’s race.

“There’s a huge part of me that

feels like that should never have been possible.”

For a time Saturday, it seemed not just possible but probable. Though she had never won a giant slalom at Killington — slalom is her specialty, and she described this giant slalom slope as a “nuisance” for her — she was dominant in the morning’s first run. She led Hector by 0.32 seconds, and only four skiers were within 1.2 seconds of her.

“I’m so happy with that run,” she said shortly thereafter, and what awaited was some video analysis — and then a nap. (It’s unclear whether Shiffrin’s superpower is ski racing or finding time to sleep, wherever and whenever.)

Given her strong skiing

Saturday, there was a palpable sense that No. 100 would come right here, right now. The Killington crowd is strong in both numbers and knowledge. A sign at a restaurant on the road into town said simply, “Go get 100 girl,” with no need to mention who or what that was about. The fans shrug off the elements, get out their American flags and cowbells — and affect the event.

“It is like little bits and pieces of the noise coming in and out,” Shiffrin said. “This run, I was really still thinking very hard about my turns and the feeling I wanted to have and to be aggressive, but you hear the crowd, and you’re like, ‘It’s not over yet, though!’”

For all her dominance — she

has two slalom wins this season and has dominated the event here in recent years — Shiffrin constantly cautions that what she makes look easy is actually difficult. The training is exhaustive. The fields are deep. The conditions vary. The balance between skiing aggressively and taking appropriate care is eternally difficult to find.

“I sort of go into every race thinking my chances are zero even though of course that’s not true,” she said Friday. “But ... I have to ski my best. I just do.”

She provided a version of her best Saturday — until she didn’t. Skiing last in the second run because she was the fastest in the first, she watched Hector race powerfully to take the lead. She lost some of her lead in the top

section, and by the time she hit the second split, the advantage was whittled to 0.03 seconds.

Still, Shiffrin has salvaged victories when leads have slipped away before. Except here, just as she came over the pitch that exposed her to an expectant crowd, she slipped. Crashes in giant slalom and slalom don’t tend to be as dramatic as those in downhill or super-G — Alpine ski racing’s fastest, most harrowing disciplines. This, though, was enough to turn a boisterous throng silent. She destroyed a gate. She tumbled end over end. She skidded until she was still.

“I have a really hard time watching crashes,” said Nina O’Brien, an American teammate coming back from injury herself, who skied solidly into sixth place. “So as soon as I see something go wrong, I just can’t stomach it, so I look away. I think we all are just sending our entire heart to her.”

As much as what happened to Shiffrin could happen to any racer at any time, it’s important to note how rare it is for her. Her skiing is so sturdy that she is conditioned to be able to absorb any unexpected bobble the course delivers. Yes, she skied out of the Olympic giant slalom course at the 2022 Beijing Games — two weeks of struggle for her. But her previous DNF in a World Cup giant slalom came in January 2018 — 49 giant slalom starts earlier.

And yet the specter of injury constantly hangs over this sport.

“I think we all know it, and it’s a reality no one likes,” said O’Brien, who broke her leg at the 2022 Olympics, then again in training for the 2023-24 season. “But it’s out there. You put it all on the line, and sometimes it doesn’t go your way.”

So much goes right for Mikaela Shiffrin on the ski hill. On Saturday afternoon, she spent roughly 20 minutes in the snow at the side of one. Only as Hector and the other top finishers — runner-up Zrinka Ljusic of Croatia and third-place Camille Rast of Switzerland — prepared to step to the podium for the postrace ceremony did Shiffrin descend the slope.

She did so not on her skis but on her back, in a sled pulled by the ski patrol. Prone, she waved to the crowd. It had arrived to celebrate an unprecedented accomplishment. It departed with a reminder that a beautiful sport can be downright devastating — and even a skier who has piled up 99 victories isn’t guaranteed a 100th.

**Killington Cup**  
12:30 p.m., NBC

# Hoyas’ offense breaks out with blistering performance in rout of Great Danes

**GEORGETOWN 100, ALBANY 68**

BY PATRICK STEVENS

The greatest unknown about the Georgetown men’s basketball team at the end of the first half Saturday was whether it could stop fouling Albany long enough to put the Great Danes away.

About an hour later, it was a matter of figuring out whether the Hoyas would reach the century mark.

They did so with 1:44 to spare on a Drew McKenna dunk, a final touch in a 100-68 drubbing before 4,227 at Capital One Arena.

Georgetown (6-1) scored 100 points for the first time since Dec. 8, 2021, against Maryland Baltimore County as senior guard Micah Peavy had another stat-stuffing day, complementing his 24 points with eight assists, four

rebounds, four steals and three blocks.

“I thought he dominated the game from start to finish,” Coach Ed Cooley said.

It was the sort of outing that prompts a productive deep dive through the record book. It was Georgetown’s most lopsided victory since a 37-point pummeling of Le Moyne in last year’s opener. The Hoyas’ 26 assists were their most since they also had 26 at Southern Methodist on Dec. 7, 2019.

And Georgetown’s 63.1 percent field goal shooting was its best since it shot 63.8 percent at Butler on Jan. 28, 2017 — two coaches ago in John Thompson III’s final season.

Kheni Briggs and Amar’e Marshall each scored 17 points for Albany (5-3), which was without injured starters Byron Joshua (14.0 points per game) and DeMarr Langford Jr. (9.9 ppg).

Georgetown had its own ab-

sence. Reserve center Julius Halaifonua, who suffered what the program described as a “lower-body injury” Friday in practice, wore a walking boot on his left foot Saturday and used crutches to get to the bench. Cooley said the freshman, who is averaging 3.0 points in 13.2 minutes as the top frontcourt backup, is day-to-day.

That left a greater onus on Thomas Sorber, which he more than capably shouldered against the Great Danes. The freshman collected 14 points and 13 rebounds for his third double-double. It also meant Drew Fielder spelled Sorber a bit more often in the post, using his assertiveness to score a season-high 10 points.

The most vexing facets of the Hoyas’ first-half effort were their penchant for fouling shooters and Albany’s ability to ruthlessly exploit it. The Great Danes twice had a three-point shooter fouled and made all 18 of their free

throws before the break, managing to stay within 49-35.

“We weren’t being disciplined in the first half,” Peavy said. “Going into halftime, that’s all we talked about — just to stay disciplined and play our defense.”

The Hoyas arguably should have been up more than 14 after shooting 61.8 percent in the first half, but they quickly rectified the situation. Sorber and Fielder combined for 11 of Georgetown’s first 15 points after the break, and the Hoyas unleashed a 19-2 run to bust open a 74-42 lead. At one point, they made 11 consecutive field goal attempts.

Georgetown outscored Albany 58-22 in the paint.

“We were just trying to push the ball and get it inside because that’s where U-Albany was weak at,” Sorber said. “We just tried to punish the paint, and once they started coming down in the paint, we kicked it out to our shooters. Whatever was there, we just tried

to read it and make it happen.”

Georgetown extended its lead to 40 — its largest in two seasons under Cooley — when Peavy connected on a three-pointer to make it 86-46 with 10:09 left.

“In the second half, I thought they came out ready to go, which I expected, and then we kind of quit,” Albany Coach Dwayne Killings said. “I thought our competitive energy was not where we wanted it to be.”

It was the penultimate game of a season-opening eight-game homestand for the Hoyas, a stretch designed to get an overhauled roster littered with freshmen and sophomores extended minutes.

Georgetown has won four in a row, all by margins of at least 17 points. The modest winning streak followed a flop in the Hoyas’ first serious test, an 84-63 loss at home against Notre Dame on Nov. 16. The next barometer looms Friday at West Virginia.

In the interim, they will meet UMBG on Monday and attempt to improve to 7-1 for the first time since 2018-19. But more than that, they will look to enhance the cohesion that in the past week has produced probably Georgetown’s best defensive game to date (Tuesday’s 66-41 throttling of Wagner) and then its crispest offensive performance in the middle 20 minutes Saturday.

“That’s exactly what we’re trying to build,” Cooley said. “It’s not going to happen overnight. The competition is about to pick up, and we want to make sure [we know]: ‘What’s it feel like to win? What’s it feel like to share the ball? What’s it feel like to see the ball go through the basket?’ When you’re building programs, those are the little things you have to win before you win on the scoreboard.”

**UMBC at Georgetown**  
Monday, 6:30 p.m., Fox Sports 1

# Terps hold on in battle of unbeatens

**MARYLAND 66, GEORGE MASON 56**

Smikle’s three-point play crucial in fourth quarter

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kaylene Smikle scored 16 points and made a couple of key baskets down the stretch to help the No. 10 Maryland women’s basketball team hold off George Mason, 66-56, in a matchup of unbeatens Saturday afternoon at the Navy Classic in Annapolis.

Maryland (7-0) led by 15 points in the second quarter, but George Mason (6-1) rallied and took the lead late in the third. The Terrapins led by two with just more

than three minutes to play when Smikle stole the ball and made a layup while being fouled. The free throw pushed the lead to 58-53. Then a putback by Smikle put Maryland up by seven.

The Terps won despite shooting 13 for 26 on free throws.

George Mason (6-1) trailed by 10 at halftime before outscoring Maryland 18-7 in the third quarter. The Patriots’ final lead was 49-48 in the fourth after a jumper by Kennedy Harris.

Harris led George Mason with 26 points, and Louis Volker (Paul VI) added 14.

Shyanne Sellers had 15 points, six rebounds and four assists for Maryland, and Saylor Poffenberger had 10 points and 12 rebounds.

Maryland is off to its best start since it won its first 12 games in 2018-19.

George Mason has lost all nine meetings with Maryland, but it has been more competitive of late. The Terps won, 86-77, last year, and this game was more competitive than the final score suggested.

After a down season by their standards, the Terps are off to a nice start, but the free throw problems in this game nearly cost them.

Although Maryland was awful at the line, at least the Terps got there. George Mason, which will play Navy in this event Sunday, was only 3 for 8 from the stripe, and the Terps, who will play Toledo on Sunday in this event, held the Patriots to 32 percent shooting from the field.

**Maryland vs. Toledo**  
Navy Classic in Annapolis  
3:30 p.m., ESPN Plus



JONATHAN NEWTON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Coach Brenda Frese and guard Sarah Te-Biasu huddled as Maryland avoided George Mason’s upset bid.





EVA REDAMONTI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

An 1891 ‘country’ recording offers a racial revelation

BY GEOFF EDGERS

John Levin had no idea what he’d stumbled upon at first. About 10 years ago, the collector paid about \$100 for a box of wax cylinders at an auction in Pennsylvania coal country. Those cylinders — the oldest commercial medium of recorded music — sat in his house for years until Levin put one of the unlabeled, decaying brown tubes onto his custom player and heard an old country song. Like 133 years old.

Levin immediately knew what he had. “A true unicorn,” he says now. In the world of early recordings, unicorns are cylinders that are reputed to exist but that have never been found. A session with cornetist Buddy Bolden, say, or a monologue from Mark Twain. What Levin heard coming out of his player was another name on his undiscovered list, New Orleans performer Louis Vassier. The unlabeled cylinder he’d bought contained Vassier singing and braying his way through “Thompson’s Old Gray Mule,” a song later recorded by hillbilly

SEE COUNTRY SONG ON E5

WHEN THERE IS DARKNESS, ART LIGHTS THE WAY

Artists helped America process the first Trump administration. How will they help the nation find meaning in the coming years?

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT

Let me share a secret. ¶ For a long time, I have cherished a fantasy about the so-called Dark Ages, when monks in cold abbeys on the edges of the world quietly and methodically copied out manuscripts, illuminating them with miraculous visions, tiny dots of color and life and even humor in a hostile, bleak, dangerous world. I have not a shred of religion in me, but I find enormous satisfaction reading the old lives of the saints, visiting forlorn relics of the monastic age and staring at the quiet, contemplative art of early Christianity.

SEE NOTEBOOK ON E8

Voice of Moana shows range on Broadway stage

BY THOMAS FLOYD  
IN NEW YORK

As a Disney-famous voice-over artist making a name for herself in live action and theater, Auli’i Cravalho has cultivated a career teeming with choices. But as the “Moana” actress thumbs through the menu at a Midtown Manhattan hotel bar, four hours before she’ll strut onstage in “Cabaret,” she’s finding her options limited.

“If I drink coffee too close to the show, I do ‘Don’t Tell Mama,’ like, hypermanic,” Cravalho says of Sally Bowles’s infantilized opening number. Beer, wine and cocktails are a no-go, as well — like many Broadway performers, she’s avoiding alcohol and other potentially voice-hampering indulgences. “When we were still in previews, a friend of mine took me out and I had a cheeky cigarette,” she confesses on this mid-October afternoon. “I felt it for three, four days afterward.”

Eventually, Cravalho lands where she was probably always headed: the chamomile tea. Since setting sail with “Moana”

SEE CRAVALHO ON E4

**Art** A new exhibition at the Met in New York explores 150 years of African American creativity inspired by ancient Egypt. **E11**  
**Dining** Dogon, the latest labor of love from Kwame Onwuachi, mixes African and Caribbean traditions with D.C. history. **E14**



MUSIC

Q&A

Neneh Cherry talks motherhood, style and White women with dreads

BY SHANE O'NEILL



ANTHONY DEVLIN/GETTY IMAGES

**Your memoir made me hungry. There was so much food in it. What was the last thing you cooked?**

Food is a big part of how I give and share love, with people that I love. And sometimes, people that I don't love. Initially, I had an idea about maybe putting a few recipes in the book. It would be weird to talk about my life and not talk about food. Literally up until the minute I got on the Zoom with you I was talking to my daughter Tyson about chicken wings versus roast chicken. She's just had a baby, so I've been sending food over when I can. Who doesn't love a sticky wing? I love when you get that crispy skin at the end and you just sit there chewing up the bones. But a roast chicken is actually food for the soul, isn't it?

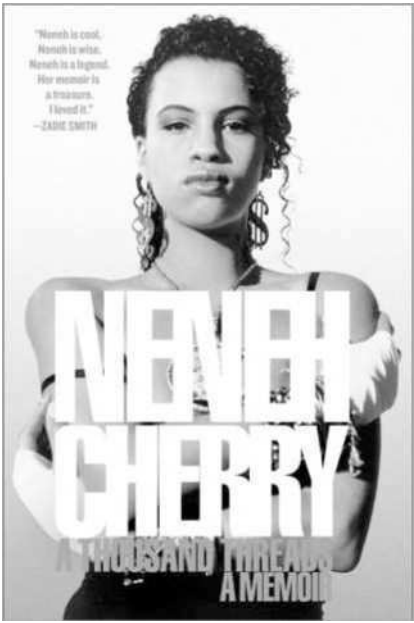
**And what did you decide?**  
I'm going to make the wings.

**In the 1980s, when lots of your book takes place, there was the rise of Thatcher and Reagan and AIDS was tearing across the world. Right now, having lived through that era, what do you feel is different? What do you see as the same?**

History quite literally repeats itself, doesn't it? I spoke to my Auntie Barbara — Don's sister — who lives in L.A. the other day. She was born in Oklahoma in the '30s. I felt a sadness in her that made me want to cry; to look into her eyes and to see what she was still having to see in her lifetime, as a 90-year-old woman, broke my heart. I have to contain my fear a lot of the time, because I am quite terrified of the future. But I know that how I've survived in my lifetime is to protect the things that I love and the people that I love and the things that I believe in.

**I loved your description of your collaborations with the fashion legend Ray Petri and your style guru Judy Blame. I have a lot of agita about the dynamic that can happen between a White gay guy and a Black female muse, and it was nice to hear that those relationships seemed healthy. I mean, life-changing. Monumental. Easily, both Ray and Judy were that for me. Judy and I were like sisters. Ray was more of an elder. My husband, Cameron, would definitely say he was a father figure. And Judy, he had a sharp tongue. But Ray would just lay things out as they were.**

**Ray also took you to one of your first Jamaican reggae parties in New York. Yeah!**



SCRIBNER

**Neneh Cherry's memoir describes her career as a singer and model, her family's experiences living in many countries, her fashion influences, and her development as a parent and an artist.**

**L**ots of people write memoirs. Neneh Cherry has actually lived a life that merits one.

She was born in Stockholm and spent her childhood in Sweden with stints in New York City and Italy, plus a visit to her biological father's homeland of Sierra Leone.

Her mother, Moki, married the seminal jazz musician Don Cherry, and the two raised Neneh and her brother Eagle-Eye (of "Save Tonight" fame) in a family bonded by an unwavering love for art and each other, but strained by Don's heroin addiction.

At 16, Neneh moved to London, where she fell in with the city's punk scene, sang backup for the Slits, joined the improvisational music collective Rip Rig + Panic and eventually recorded her solo debut, 1989's "Raw Like Sushi," featuring the now-classic club hit

"Buffalo Stance."

And there's her international modeling career, her collaborations with the trip-hop pioneer Tricky and the time she ran into Muhammad Ali on the street.

If this sounds like a good story, it is, and it's told with bravery and tenderness in her new book, "A Thousand Threads."

The Washington Post called Cherry, 60, at her daughter Mabel's house in London, where she had been living for two years. In just a few days, she and her husband — music producer Cameron McVey — would be moving into the house they bought a few doors down. But as she talked, she seemed content to squeeze in a cuddle with Mabel's two Italian greyhounds, who burrowed under the gray electric blanket spread over the bed where Cherry sat.

The following interview has been edited for length and clarity.

**I was also struck by your relationship with Ari Up from the Slits. You wrote that today she would be accused of cultural appropriation.**

As much as the conversations that we're having are the conversations we need to be having, there's also a risk that we're becoming incredibly strict: "You can't do that, you can't do this." Ari did what Ari was going to do. As her sister, I would say there was nothing about her that was about stealing culture. She was really into reggae music and sound system culture, she went to live in Jamaica, she was a dancehall queen named "Medusa." No one questioned whether she should be there. We have to allow ourselves to be inspired, but honor what you're inspired by respectfully and not take something to make it your own in a colonial way. But, yeah, I'm sure a lot of people today would be like, "Who is this? She's got these long dreads."

**I mean, I'll be honest: I'm going to be suspicious of any White girl with dreads. But reading your book, I was like, "Would we have missed the Slits today?"**

I think a lot of us have pretty good instincts. Somebody comes at you who's completely full of s--- — you kind of know it. But if someone is doing something with a lot of heart, you can't just turn around and go, "You can't do that." You've got to check them out to reach a decision.

**It reminds me of that definition of obscenity: "I can't define it, but I know it when I see it."**  
Yeah, exactly.

**After I read your book, I relistened to "Raw Like Sushi." The book and the album both have themes of protection, exuberance, motherhood and independence. What did you learn about motherhood from writing this book?**

I'm still learning how to be a mother. I had a baby when I was 18. My mother said to me, "Don't let it keep you from being a creative person out in the world. Don't separate that part of yourself. It's all oneness." So I think there was a positive anger as a young mother who was also making music and putting out records that motherhood didn't define me. But it's also hard being a mother. Looking back at some of the decisions I made, I would never do that now. But you can only live a lifetime to know those things. I can literally put my hand on my

heart and say, "I was trying my best." There's no such thing as a perfect mother. There's no such thing as a perfect person. You just have to keep trying.

**In the book, I loved the way you wrote about being visibly pregnant in a crop top when you performed "Buffalo Stance" on British television. Why do you think that image still resonates with so many people? Because it wasn't how it was supposed to be done. Therefore, it had to be done.**

**The designs of Azzedine Alaïa also run throughout your memoir. What about his work appealed to you?**

I mean, he was an artist, wasn't he? He had an incredible love of the woman's body and he understood beauty. Ray Petri was the first person to put me into an Alaïa dress, and it was the way the dress made my body feel that was sensational. That is the magic of a great designer, when their idea is touching you. Going out in that "Raw Like Sushi" era, I would just put on a pair of Jordans, an Alaïa dress and I would go out the door. That was my armor. And he was just the sweetest man. He used to give me lots of clothes. Unfortunately, I don't have lots of them anymore.

**What happened to them?**  
I think my husband might have thrown them out in a move. We just emptied one of our storages yesterday and all the stuff is in the new house. There were just a few bags of clothes and he was like, "Should we just throw them away?"

**Did you have any thoughts about the latest Alaïa collection?**  
I have contact with the foundation and I think the continuation of Alaïa is great. I mean, I can't afford any of those clothes, but I love to look at them.

**Zadie Smith blurbed your book. How did that happen?**  
The first time I met her was on the canal in West London with my husband. She ran past me and I was a total fangirl: "Oh my God, that was Zadie Smith, she's so gorgeous." And she came running back and came up and said she likes me and it was the best thing that's ever happened. She sent me an email that she actually liked the book and I don't know what to do with that information. It's so deep. It's very wonderful.



# She wants to encourage her son’s girlfriend to continue her pregnancy



Carolyn Hax

**Dear Carolyn:** My 23-year-old son just told me his girlfriend is pregnant and has not decided whether to keep the baby or terminate the pregnancy. He says he will support her either way.

I feel strongly that she should keep the baby. I very much want to be a grandma and will support them in any way I can, and think they would both be good parents. I probably don’t have much say in this, but how could I approach her to encourage her to have my grandchild? My son says if she wants my opinion she’ll ask for it, but I don’t think she knows me well enough to know she can come to me if she wants to talk. Any thoughts?

— Anonymous

**Anonymous:** You have *no* say in this. Zero. Nil. That is not a small-degree change from

“probably not much.” That is a night-and-day distinction.

You submitted your question to my chat and I didn’t see it in time to answer it live, so I’m completely irrelevant to this decision myself. The couple will have made their decision by now.

But you’re in my column anyway because you still have relationships with them to navigate, in the wake of whatever they decide. It will go better for you immediately if you stop thinking you have a say in any of their intimate business. It will go a whole lot better if you *embrace* not having one, but first things first.

Let’s start with this: The pregnancy was not in your body. Wait ... we can finish there, too. Not your body, no say.

Let’s agree for the sake of argument that everyone in the world sympathizes with your excitement for a grandchild. (I do! Truly.) That still doesn’t/ didn’t entitle you to lobby another person in favor of having “my grandchild” for you inside



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

that other person’s body.

... And inside her relationship and state of mind and health and future and finances and readiness. Because a child would be born into all those things, and she would own that choice to the extent of her and the child’s lifetimes, and that was always the full weight and scope of the decision she was making — against the backdrop of a ticking clock, too. And so she had every right to make it without others distracting her with their own self-interests.

Now, if you were a truly disinterested, supportive, neutral resource, then you could have offered yourself as such.

Always.

And *if* her decision hinged on the availability of an enthusiastic grandma willing to help however possible, then you could have made your loving availability known. But your son already, rightly, covered when you could do that: if asked.

In fact, he said all the right things to you, and apparently said all the right things to his girlfriend. Meaning, you raised a man who knows how to be supportive of a woman. So I’ll just take what he modeled for you and put it in advice form for you to use: Recognize that she is a person, foremost. Her own person. And she is any of the other things second.

Maybe you taught him this? If so, then, wonderful. Living it yourself is only a giant exhale away.

Surely you can identify with the complexities of the other things she is asked to be, like woman, son’s girlfriend, mother, vessel of “my grandchild.” Etc.

I belabor this point because, by now, your son and his girlfriend may not be having a child. And as you grieve what might have been, you will also need to let go completely of what you wish they had chosen if you hope to move forward with them unburdened.

Respecting — *embracing* — her right to govern herself fully,

and their right to do what is best for them, allows you to do both. You can grieve in your own time and space and move forward as a respectful, validating presence in theirs. You can feel a loss while recognizing their doing things your way was never yours to expect.

If they are having your grandchild, also wonderful. Then your relationships will still benefit from your knowing where the boundary is and staying on your side of it. At countless points along the path of their child-rearing, inevitably, you will want them to do something they ultimately choose not to do. These are the times to remember it’s the next generation’s turn now; you had your turn as a parent. (Just from the way your son trusts you and his girlfriend, it seems like you did an exemplary job.)

So you have a say when they invite you to have one.

But this is also true, in my experience: The less you barge in, the more invitations you’ll get to weigh in.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/gethax](http://wapo.st/gethax).

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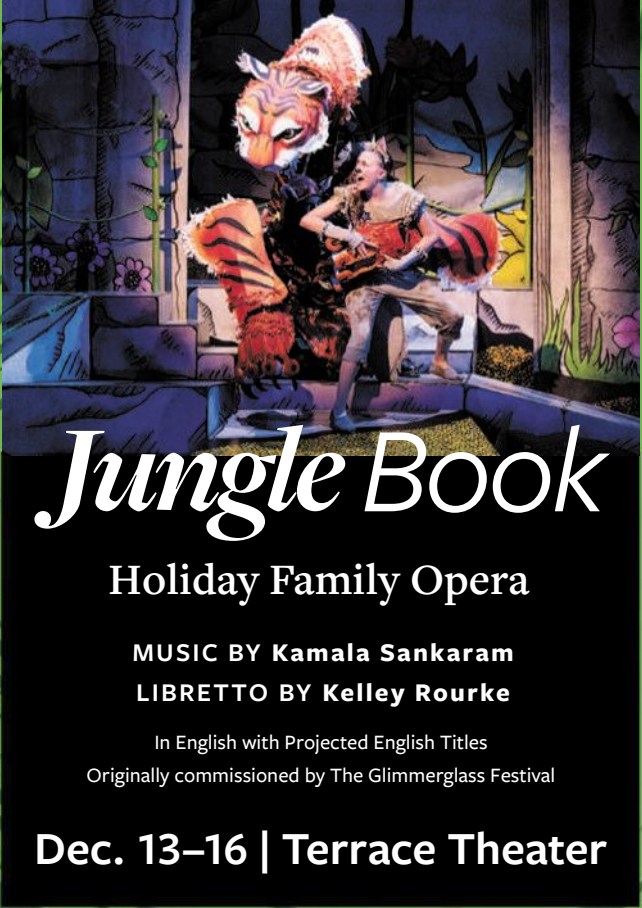
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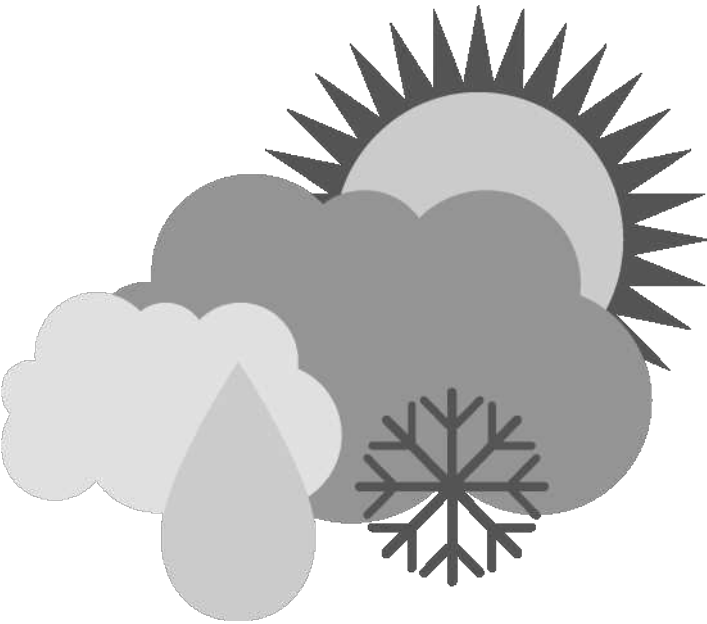
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MOVIES

# Cravalho isn’t one to take the easier path

CRAVALHO FROM E1

nearly a decade ago, anchoring the Walt Disney Animation Studios juggernaut and helping entrench “How Far I’ll Go” as a canonical anthem of ambition, Cravalho hasn’t been shy about showcasing her vocal chops. Earlier this year, she swiped scenes as the righteously rebellious bestie Janis ‘Imi’ike in the “Mean Girls” musical movie. Onstage, she has appeared in “Sunset Boulevard” at the Kennedy Center and starred in “Evita” in London’s West End. And the role of Sally, the careening burlesque club singer at the center of “Cabaret,” marks her Broadway debut.

“Voice-over and singing is my happy place, where I lock myself in a booth and I act like a little gremlin and I don’t worry about anyone seeing my facial expressions,” says Cravalho, 24. “Then there’s TV and film, which is very much, ‘What do I do with my hands? Oh, I have a pimple on my chin. Great.’ Then I think the most beautiful challenge of stage work is being consistent. I am on that marathon and I’m exhausted, but I’m so happy.”

At the same time audiences can catch Cravalho onstage seven times a week, in a harrowing parable about fascism and the perils of complacency, they can hear her reprise her breakthrough role in “Moana 2,” the vibrant animated adventure that coasted into theaters Wednesday. The juxtaposition of her performances couldn’t be starker. In “Cabaret,” Cravalho gives her all to a raw portrayal of denial and disillusion. In “Moana 2,” her polished vocals power a young woman buoyed by heart and pluck.

“She’s fearless,” says Jared Bush, a screenwriter on both Moana films and the chief creative officer of Disney Animation. “Coming of age at 15, 16 and being a Disney heroine, it’s nice to see her branch out and spread her wings — but also really still love that character.”

Cravalho was all of 14 in 2015, when she booked the role of Moana after being swayed to audition right before the deadline. Ahead of the announcement, the Native Hawaiian giddily whispered the news of her groundbreaking casting to her single mother in the one-bedroom apartment they shared on Oahu. “I would just be in tears,” Cravalho says, “knowing that it would be important for the culture.”

Even as “Moana” made waves, surpassing \$600 million at the global box office and landing Cravalho a gig performing at the 2017 Oscars, she endeavored to stay grounded. Traveling the world on the movie’s press tour, she was more interested in McDonald’s than fine dining. (“You don’t know how big the world is,” Cravalho says, “until you try all the different McDonald’s sauces.”) When her youthful impulses did push her toward decadence, her mother stepped in to keep her fiscally prudent.

“She was like, ‘You want Gucci shoes? No, no, no — let me introduce you to Converse,’” Cravalho recalls. “She kept me on a tight ship, which I appreciate.”

When we catch up with Moana in the sequel, which originally was green-lit as a streaming series before being reimagined for the big screen, the character has come into her own as the chief and wayfinder on her ancient Polynesian isle. Once a vision from the ancestors shows Moana the dystopian future that will unfold should her community remain isolated, she assembles an unconventional crew, calls out for help from the demigod Maui (Dwayne Johnson) and sets sail in hopes of uniting the scattered peoples of the sea.

For Cravalho, the notion of wading into the unknown and leaving one’s home behind hits hard. Although she’s now based in New York and keeps a Los Angeles apartment, the performer doesn’t hesitate to respond “Hawaii” when asked what place she considers home. With every job booked around the globe, however, comes more time away from the tight-knit community that helps keep her whole.

“We have this song ‘Beyond,’” Cravalho says, “and in some of the lyrics I’m basically saying, ‘Who am I if I leave my home? Who am I if I don’t return for what feels like a lifetime? It could be years. I could never come back.’ I ask myself that often. I’m really grateful to be here, but also, what is my legacy? Which is a crazy question to ask.”

That open introspection is on brand for Cravalho, who long ago moved on from the days of clearing her social media posts with Disney and is now unabashedly herself online. In 2020, Cravalho came out as bisexual by lip-synching to Eminem’s “Those Kinda



PHOTO BY DAVID URBANKE; HAIR BY RHEANNE WHITE; MAKEUP BY KIRIN BHATTY; STYLING BY JESSICA PASTER



SCOTT A GARFITT/INVISION/AP



JULIETA CERVANTES

**FROM TOP:** Auli'i Cravalho stars in “Moana 2” in cinemas and “Cabaret” on Broadway. Cravalho and Dwayne Johnson at the London premiere of “Moana 2” on Nov. 24. Cravalho as Sally Bowles in “Cabaret.”

Nights” on TikTok. Earlier this year, she used her Instagram to call for a cease-fire in Gaza, emphasize that trans rights are human rights, identify herself as pro-choice and back the Black Lives Matter movement.

“I think there’s certainly an easier path of not posting anything that is close to political on social media pages,” Cravalho says. “But that’s not who I am.”

Sporting camouflage pants and a charcoal sweater, Cravalho introduces herself at the hotel bar with a warm embrace and a profuse apology for running a few minutes late. (Moana may be an expert navigator, but Cravalho is susceptible, like the rest of us, to occasionally putting the wrong address into her phone.) Over the next hour, the actress overflows with endearing quips and quirks. If she wants to punctuate a point, she’ll pause to spell out a word or enunciate every syllable. Recalling an uncomfortable audition story, she drops an f-bomb in a Gollum-like growl.

When the conversation turns to Catherine Laga’aia, the actress taking the torch as Moana in the live-action remake due out in 2026, Cravalho practically leaps with elation about the Polynesian representation on-screen. She also speaks passionately about wanting to combat the Hawaiian Home Lands program’s controversial blood quantum, which defines Native Hawaiians as having at least 50 percent Hawaiian ancestry, and aspires to study the relationship between environmental science and Native communities so she can eventually work in that arena.

“She can go from being goofy and playful to the most knowledgeable person about world events and a cultural ambassador,” says Bush, who is already enthusiastic about the possibility of working with Cravalho on a third animated Moana movie. “She is incredibly poised, and at the same time she is deeply human and approachable.”

Such humanity makes Cravalho a natural fit

for her leave-it-all-on-the-stage performance as Sally in “Cabaret.” Preparing for that audition, she got a noise complaint for singing the show’s title song ad nauseam at her L.A. apartment. (“Fair,” she says with a nod.) After renting a separate room for the self-tape, she blocked her brows with Elmer’s glue to appear more Sally-like, belted to her heart’s desire and sent the video along.

Cravalho lost out to Gayle Rankin the first time around, when the show opened in April, but booked the gig when the Tony nominee stepped away in September. Having long inhabited teens on-screen, in such series as “Rise” and “The Power” and such films as “Darby and the Dead” and “All Together Now,” Cravalho relished the chance to tackle decidedly adult material.

“With a role like this, she gets to stretch herself a little bit and challenge herself and challenge the audience’s perception of her,” says Adam Lambert, her “Cabaret” co-star. “I can tell that she’s just a great actress because she never does it quite exactly the same. You don’t want it to get stale, and I think with Auli’i, she keeps it alive every time she hits the stage.”

Although Cravalho was accepted by Columbia University a few semesters back, she still hasn’t enrolled. Considering she’s the self-described “breadwinner” in her family, the thought of losing industry momentum proved too concerning. With college on the back burner, Cravalho has dutifully enrolled in acting, dance and step classes. But as she hones her craft and aims to ascend in show business, she also wants to keep her expectations managed.

“I have been in the industry *just* long enough to know that those expectations are what make my soul break and my heart crumble when I don’t get a particular role,” Cravalho says. “So as long as my foundation is good, when the next character comes up — like Sally Bowles — who makes me want to lose my mind and descend into insanity, I’ll be ready.”



MUSIC

# Rediscovery of early recording challenges preconceptions about race in country music

COUNTRY SONG FROM E1

masters Uncle Dave Macon and Riley Puckett.

This month, Archeophone, a specialty label devoted to restoring recordings dating back to the 19th century, released a 45-rpm record of the 1891 performance. Label co-founder Rich Martin’s research on Vasnier comes with a revelation: The oldest country recording in existence was recorded by a Black man.

“It might be the most important thing we’ve ever put out,” says Meagan Hennessey, his wife and co-producer.

That’s saying something. Archeophone, founded in 1998, is a tiny label known for its impressive discoveries. Six years ago, Martin and Hennessey released another Levin find, a song by Charles Asbury determined to be the oldest existing banjo recording. Like Vasnier, Asbury was Black.

Martin wants to revisit the complicated relationship country music has had with race. Credit and record deals have typically been hard to come by for Black musicians. It took until 2000 for the Country Music Hall of Fame to induct its first Black artist, Charley Pride, and only two others have joined him. (There are 155 members in total.)

“Black artists by and large, who were the ones who performed and recorded, get wiped out of the picture because they say, ‘Well, it’s not really country,’” Martin says. “So ours is partly a project of reclamation.”

Rhiannon Giddens, the musician and historian whose banjo playing opens Beyoncé’s No. 1 country-chart hit “Texas Hold ‘Em,” says she wasn’t surprised by Martin’s discovery. But she’s also not a normal listener. Her research has shown that there’s often a difference between who created music and who is credited with that creation. Country music, she notes, is merely a marketing tool invented to help sell records. Early in the 20th century, recording companies created the term “race records” to compartmentalize the sound and try to attract Black listeners to buy certain songs. (Vasnier himself was advertised as “The only Colored comedian who can do it.”) In reality, country, blues, folk and bluegrass are intertwined in American culture and the Black experience.

“We shouldn’t have to do this at all,” Giddens says. “Like, this should have been part of the story all along. But fine, we spend the energy doing it because you see what’s happening

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Archeophone Records is reissuing Louis Vasnier’s 1891 recording of “Thompson’s Old Gray Mule,” originally released on wax cylinder, as a 45-rpm record.

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MUSIC

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

right now in the United States, the divisions and how even a discussion of whether Beyoncé is allowed to make country music becomes a political part of a political agenda.”

Vasnier’s story fits right in with the mission of Archeophone, which Martin and Hennessey run out of their home in Champaign, Illinois. They seek to uncover and share the real history of recorded sound.

Martin relies on collectors like Levin who recognize how delicate and rare some of the cylinders can be. Levin has more than 3,000 in his California home, and he’s eventually giving them to the University of California at Santa Barbara. The sound file Martin mastered was drawn from a special player that Levin built. He sells these units for anywhere from \$25,000 to \$40,000 depending on the components.

“I treat these things, they’re like polar bears or the California condor,” Levin says. “If they’re not brought in from the wild, they’re basically getting destroyed. Every 10 or 20 years, they go from one private collector to another and they’re soft wax. You drop them from one half-inch on a table and they shatter.”

Archeophone does more than release the music. Martin and Hennessey are committed to book-length liner notes packed with new research. Their pressings are small, typically under 1,000 copies a release, but their work has been recognized. Archeophone won a 2006 Grammy for “Lost Sounds: Blacks and the Birth of the Recording Industry, 1891-1922” and was just nominated for two for “Centennial,” a set devoted to King Oliver’s 1923 recordings. And it is on CD 3 of that box — featuring songs that influenced Oliver’s protégé, Louis Armstrong — that you’ll find Vasnier’s recording.

But Martin and Hennessey felt that highlighting the discovery was important and that the song might get lost in the four-CD set. Which is why they’ve released “Thompson’s Old Gray Mule” this month as a 45-rpm record.

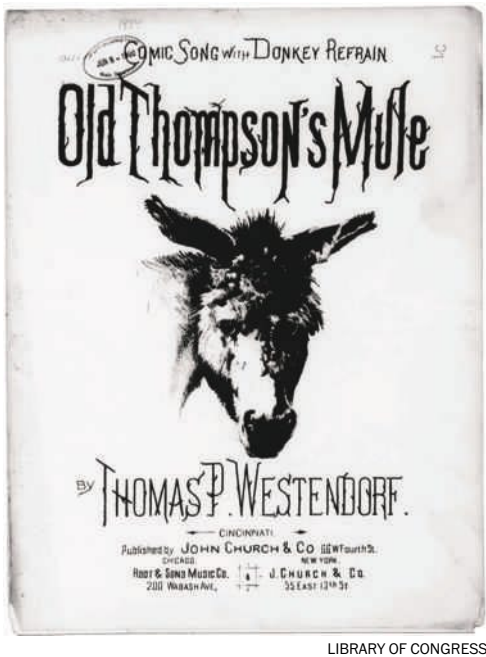
Martin’s extensive liner notes draw on historical census documents and cylinder catalogues to tell the story of Vasnier and the Louisiana Phonograph Co., one of many outfits that seized on Thomas Edison’s sound-capturing invention in the late 19th century.

Louis J. Vasnier Jr. was born in 1858 and grew up in New Orleans, the son of a house carpenter, Ben, and his wife, Louise. Sometime in the 1880s, he started singing publicly, and by 1891 he was recording parody sermons for the phonograph company that were advertised as “humorous” and “characteristic Negro delineations ... of a dusky style of pulpit oratory that is rapidly passing away.” One of these, “Adam and Eve and de Winter Apple,” is the B-side of the Vasnier 45.

With home players not available until the late 1890s, Vasnier performances would have been heard on the wax cylinders installed in coin-operated jukeboxes. Martin’s research



The top rim of a wax cylinder for a humorous oration called “Adam and Eve and de Winter Apple,” which is on the B-side of the new Louis Vasnier 45-rpm record. The song on the A-side, which Vasnier called “Thompson’s Old Gray Mule,” was written by Thomas P. Westendorf in 1884.



found that the Louisiana Phonograph Co. had the most profitable machine in the country, a player in a drugstore on the corner of Canal and Chartres streets in New Orleans that earned \$1,420.80 over three months during the summer of 1891.

Martin’s research found that Vasnier’s musical performances were advertised with banjo accompaniment, but “Thompson’s Old Gray Mule,” a song written by Thomas P. Westendorf in 1884 (as “Old Thompson’s Mule”), features a piano. The song opens with Vasnier naming the title and record company before the music starts and he sings the story of the farmer’s mule. The sound will take some getting used to for anyone expecting the fidelity of modern recordings, but the singer’s voice is powerful and cuts through the technological limitations of the medium. The highlight of the song has to be the chorus, where Vasnier delivers a comic, snorting re-creation of the donkey delivering “eh-aws.”

“It’s very declamatory, very ebullient,” Giddens says. “Like, he’s clearly a performer. This is not somebody who wandered off the street and was like, ‘I’ve been hoeing the rows on my farm and I’m just singing a ditty.’”

But is it country? “It’s goes back to, ‘What is a country song?’” she says. “The idea of country music was made up to sell records. The reason we’re talking about it today is because of the way the history has been written. So we have to talk about the fact that Vasnier was Black and that this is something that Black people played and that you have all of this segregation going on. We have to talk about it because it hasn’t been talked about, not because in of itself it is unusual that a Black man would be singing a song about an old gray mule.”

“I treat these things, they’re like polar bears or the California condor. If they’re not brought in from the wild, they’re basically getting destroyed. ... You drop them from one half-inch on a table and they shatter.”

John Levin, collector of early recordings

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the <i>GUIDE</i> to the Lively Arts						
SHOW NAME		DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
HOLIDAY EVENTS						
	<b>21st MESSIAH SING-ALONG In Alexandria</b>	Sun, Dec 8, 2024 4PM	Messiah - Part I & Hallelujah Chorus; Guest Soloists; Amadeus Orchestra; J.S. Bach Oboe d'amore Concerto in D Major; Dr. Louise Wilson, conductor	<b>Fairlington United Methodist</b> 3900 King Street Alexandria, VA <a href="http://www.fairlingtonumc.org">www.fairlingtonumc.org</a>	Free Ad- mission & Parking	Bring your Messiah Score or get one at the door \$9.
	<b>A Celtic Christmas</b> The nostalgic hometown holiday favorite returns!	Saturday, December 7 Sunday, December 8  4:00 p.m.	We present to you the perennial Georgetown favorite, <b>A Celtic Christmas</b> . The <b>Barnes and Hampton Celtic Consort</b> transports its devoted audience back in time and across the pond with the skillful musical touch of Joe Cunliffe and Steve Bloom and the jocular poetic stylings of the inimitable Robert Aubry Davis.	<b>Dumbarton Concerts</b> 3133 Dumbarton St NW Georgetown  <b>For more information and to purchase tickets, visit:</b> <a href="http://dumbartonconcerts.org">dumbartonconcerts.org</a>	\$48  \$14 live-stream  (Dec 8 only)	Parking available, free valet for Gold members  Box Office: 202-965-2000
	<b>A Mass for Christmas Eve:</b> Baroque Music for the Season	December 6 - 15, 2024 11 performances!	Celebrate the magic of the holidays with Folger Consort. Featuring joyous baroque melodies by Vivaldi, Charpentier, and more—performed by a stunning ensemble of vocalists and instrumentalists. This beloved tradition for all ages is not to be missed!	<b>Folger Theatre</b> 201 E Capitol St, SE (202) 544-7077 <a href="http://www.folger.edu/whats-on/events/music">www.folger.edu/whats-on/events/music</a>	\$20 - \$60	Early Music Seminar on Dec. 4 at 6pm (virtual)
	<b>Time for Christmas</b> An original musical	Saturdays @ 12pm, 4pm, & 7:30pm Sundays @ 12pm & 4pm Friday @ 7pm	A dazzling dance-filled holiday adventure for the whole family! Two weekends, Dec. 7-8, 13-15.	<b>Richard J. Ernst Theater</b> 8333 Little River Turnpike Annandale, VA 22003 <a href="http://www.encore-tap.org">www.encore-tap.org</a>	\$27-40	For tickets: 703-222-5511
THEATRE						
	<b>A Hanukkah Carol, or GELT TRIP! The Musical</b> World premiere	Now playing through December 29	Misanthropic millennial influencer Chava Kanipshin is visited by spirits of Hanukkah past, present, and future in this heartfelt, family-friendly riff on a holiday classic that celebrates making the world a kinder place.	<b>4545 East-West Highway</b> Bethesda, MD 20814 240.644.1100 <a href="http://RoundHouseTheatre.org">RoundHouseTheatre.org</a>	Tickets from \$43 (free for students age 13-college)	Winner of the Audience Favorite Award at Broadway Shark Tank
MUSIC - CONCERTS						
	<b>Behold the Star Reflections of Light and Joy</b> Scott Tucker Theodore Thorpe III Co-Artistic Directors	Sunday, December 8, at 5:00 PM	Join the Chorale for its annual Christmas concert! From the warm glow of Eric Whitacre's "Lux Aurumque" to the exuberance of Michael McElroy and Joseph Joubert's "Go Tell It on the Mountain," our music celebrates both the quiet wonder and awesome glory of the Christmas season.	<b>National United Methodist Church</b> 3401 Nebraska Ave, NW Washington, DC 20016  <a href="http://washingtondouglasschorale.org">washingtondouglasschorale.org</a>	\$40 — but you can "pay what you are able" so everyone may attend.	Ticket and future concert info at: <a href="http://washingtondouglasschorale.org">washingtondouglasschorale.org</a>
	<b>Salute to Vienna</b> New Year's Concert	Sunday December 29, 3:00 pm	Waltz into 2025 with the music of Johann Strauss Jr., performed by European singers, dancers, and full orchestra.	<b>Music Center at Strathmore</b> <a href="http://salutetovienna.com">salutetovienna.com</a>	\$50 - \$132.50	301.581.5100
	<b>Season of Hope</b>	Saturday, December 14 at 3 P.M. and 7 P.M. Sunday, December 15 at 3 P.M.	Celebrate this holiday season with The U.S. Air Force Band. This concert will feature the Concert Band and Singing Sergeants performing timeless renditions of holiday favorites with special guests and a visitor from the North Pole!	<b>D.A.R. Constitution Hall</b> 1776 D St NW Washington, DC 20006 <b>REGISTER AT USAIR-FORCEBAND.COM</b>	FREE	Find The U.S. Air Force Band on FB/IG @ USAFBand and YouTube @ TheUSAF Band
	<b>United States Marine Band</b> "Wolf Trap Holiday Sing-A-Long"	Saturday, Dec. 7 at 3:00 p.m.	Kick off the holiday season with Wolf Trap's Annual Holiday Sing-A-Long! "The President's Own" United States Marine Band leads a Sing-A-Long of Christmas and Hanukkah tunes with local choir and vocal groups. Doors open at 2 p.m.	<b>Wolf Trap National Park for the Performing Arts</b> 1551 Trap Rd, Vienna, VA 22182 <b>Full Details:</b> <a href="http://www.marineband.marines.mil">www.marineband.marines.mil</a>	FREE, Registration required	Parking available onsite.
MUSIC - CHORAL						
	<b>A Winter's Night</b>	Sunday, December 8, at 5:00 p.m.	Cantate Chamber Singers presents an intimate concert with harp, featuring Britten's Ceremony of Carols and John Muehleisen's This Night. The program is completed with seasonal miniatures by Jennifer Higdon, John Rutter, Morten Lauridsen, Nathaniel Dett, and more.	<b>Bradley Hills Presbyterian Church</b> 6601 Bradley Blvd, Bethesda, MD 20817 <b>Box Office: 301-986-1799</b> <a href="http://www.cantate.org">www.cantate.org</a>	\$45 premium; \$35 general; \$20 (18-35); children 17 and under are free	Featuring Rebecca Smith, harpist
	<b>ENCHANT</b> <i>A holiday concert by the Arlington Chorale</i>	Saturday, December 7 at 5 PM	Join us for an enchanting concert to warm your heart and spark your holiday spirit with festive carols and sing-alongs!	<b>Westover Baptist Church</b> Arlington, VA <a href="http://arlingtonchorale.org">arlingtonchorale.org</a>	\$30, free for children 17 and under	Ticket includes post-concert reception
	<b>GLORIA! GLORIA!</b>	Sunday, December 15, 2024 4:00 p.m.	Thomas Beveridge conducts NDC & orchestra in Puccini's "Gloria" from his Messa di Gloria, 4 works from Handel's Messiah, plus the audience joins the Chorale in singing carols of the season. Soloists are soprano Mandy Brown and tenor Patrick Cook. Come celebrate the season with us!	<b>Saint Luke Catholic Church</b> 7001 Georgetown Pike McLean, VA 22101  202-244-7191 <a href="http://www.newdominion.org">www.newdominion.org</a>	Tickets: \$40 – General Admission \$35 – Seniors 62+ \$20 - 18 and under	Free Parking
	<b>Joy of Christmas</b>	Saturday, December 14   2pm & 7pm Sunday, December 15   4pm	Washington's favorite holiday tradition is back! Celebrate Christmas with classic carols, a dazzling brass quintet, and the 120-voice Cathedral Choral Society.	<b>Washington National Cathedral</b> 3101 Wisconsin Ave. NW <b>Box office: (202) 537-2228</b> <a href="http://cathedralchoralsociety.org/concerts">cathedralchoralsociety.org/concerts</a>	Tickets start at just \$25!	
OPERA						
<i>Bel Cantanti Opera</i>	<b>The Snow Queen</b> Based on a story by Hans Christian Andersen	Saturdays, Dec. 7 and 14 at 2 p.m. and 5 p.m.  Sundays, Dec. 8 and 15 at 3 p.m.	A festive family musical celebrating family and friendship, and the power to overcome fears and to celebrate life. This production is a collaboration of Bel Cantanti Opera with the Four Seasons Dancers and Rome3Arts. Cast details at <a href="http://www.belcantanti.com">www.belcantanti.com</a> .	<b>The Writer's Center</b> 4508 Walsh Street Downtown Bethesda, MD  <a href="http://www.belcantanti.com">www.belcantanti.com</a>	Adults \$40, Kids 8 and above \$20, Kids under 8 free	Tickets sold online and at the door

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# IN GRIM TIMES, ART ALWAYS FINDS A WAY

## NOTEBOOK FROM E1

One of my happiest days was spent at the ruins of Lindisfarne, an old priory on a tidal island off the coast of northern England. Some stout walls and arches remain, including one delicate, spectral span that somehow survived the collapse of a tower above it some two centuries ago. It was a cold, bleak December day, yet the ruins felt like an accidental garden: The roof is long gone and what remains of the priory is open to the elements, but a carpet of green grass made the place feel like what it always was, a refuge from the world.

Almost everything about this fantasy is a fiction, from the idea of the putative Dark Ages to the romanticizing of monastic life. But it is a sustaining fiction, a metaphor for how I think about art and culture, and their place in an increasingly fractured, frenetic and violent world. Culture is the struggle of like-minded souls, working alone but sustained by community, to keep barbarism at bay. Art is the resilient and miraculous residue of that endeavor.

Much of the art world, including many artists who supported Kamala Harris and a substantial number of people who regularly visit museums, galleries and performance spaces, is bewildered by the reelection of Donald Trump. No one in this sector is any more confident of what Trump will do than all the rest of the pundits and politicians who are honest about the vast uncertainty ahead. But there is a need for understanding that tran-

scends the parsing of exit polls and the finger-pointing grievances of those who lost once again to a candidate who embodies chaos.

I am not calling Trump's supporters barbarians. Barbarism is deeper than politics, deeper than partisan divides. But to survive the next four years, to make sense of where all this could be going, we need to understand barbarism as a living, ever-present force tending always to cruelty and destruction. And more important: We need to understand how culture pushes back against it, creating circles of emotionally habitable space, patches of green on windswept isles, how it can accomplish miracles of resistance, like a ribbon of stone defying gravity, suspended in the air for a thousand years.

With Trump, the past is never prologue because of his whim and impulsive decisions. But the past is all we have at this point, and a few things are likely to remain the same during the upcoming administration. Trump's arrival in Washington in 2017 accelerated the politicization of everything, including art and cultural criticism. In his first four years in office, he was curiously everywhere and nowhere when it came to culture. Trump and Trumpism haunted the American imagination and psyche, a mysterious force that needed to be explained and understood. At the same time, Trump showed little to no interest in art, music, performance. He was persona non grata at major cultural events like the Kennedy Center Honors, and mostly didn't

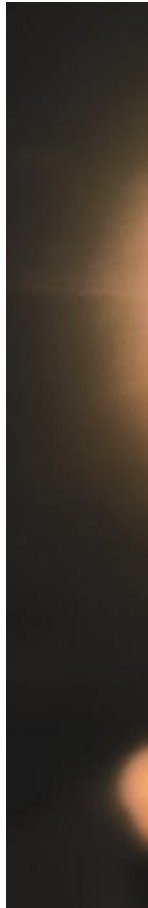
even bother to show up.

The initial art world response to his arrival was often improvised, disconnected, lightly organized. Artists and curators responded with a "J20" art strike on the day of Trump's inauguration — part of a larger effort, including the massive women's march the next day, to protest his accession to power — with gallery closures and even a few museums participating. Christo, the environmental installation artist who had once festooned Central Park with thousands of billowing, orange fabric "gates," canceled his last major project in the United States, a huge canopy of shimmering draperies to be flown over the Arkansas River in Colorado, saying that the work would be on public land, and thus Trump his "landlord," which he found intolerable.

Trump's actual policies toward the arts were, as expected, confrontational and often merely ineffective. He made annual efforts to eliminate the National Endowment for the Arts even as the agency's budget grew modestly during his tenure. He stacked the Commission on Fine Arts, which has review authority over buildings in D.C. and other federal design duties, with traditionalists devoted to classical architecture, but President Joe Biden dismissed them before they had much effect on the look or feel of federal architecture.

Artists went in all directions, most focusing not on Trump specifically but on the underlying cultural crises — the racial divide, misogyny, environment degradation — exacerbated by the 45th president's personal style, rhetoric

**ABOVE: "Trump Descending an Escalator" by Dana Schutz. TOP RIGHT: Artist Robin Bell posts live on social media a new projection in reaction to Donald Trump's victory in the 2024 election. CENTER: Bell's projection at the Newseum in August 2017 protested Trump's comments after the rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. It was one of his many projections around the country to protest the Trump administration. RIGHT: "America," by Italian artist Maurizio Cattelan, is a fully functional toilet made from 18-karat gold. The Guggenheim Museum offered the piece to the Trump White House after refusing a request from the president and first lady to borrow a painting by Van Gogh to hang in their private quarters.**





RT



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

In an earlier age, art served power, and many arts institutions today are too closely allied with power. But most of the larger art world, including many of the performing arts, literature and the fine arts, have been in the “resistance” since long before the term took on its current meaning.



ANDRE CHUNG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



CHRISTINA HORSTEN/PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA//AP IMAGES

and, occasionally, policies. Two themes of the broader response eventually emerged. First, there were efforts to capture the dark absurdity of the cultural moment. Second, there was a grim fascination with the omnipresence of Trump, his ability to insert himself into every context, space and thought — to live, as people say, “rent-free” everywhere all the time.

In 2019, Jennifer Rubell debuted a performance piece called “Ivanka Vacuuming,” in which an Ivanka Trump look-alike vacuumed crumbs off a red carpet for two hours a night. It was, perhaps, a commentary on the trickle-down economics of his vast tax cuts, or the ultimately failed effort of the president’s daughter and adviser to remain free of the moral taint of her father’s administration.

Early in his first term, the Guggenheim Museum in New York firmly declined a request from Trump’s White House to borrow a painting by Van Gogh, which the president and first lady wanted to hang in their private quarters. Instead, the museum offered a work called “America,” by artist Maurizio Cattelan, which consisted of a fully functioning 18-karat gold toilet. “Everything seems absurd until we die and then it makes sense,” Cattelan told The Washington Post in January 2018, when an email from the Guggenheim confirming the contretemps became public.

The ubiquity of Trump was harder to capture, and artists went at it in different ways. Andres Serrano created an installation of Trump images, collectibles, artifacts, all manner of “Trumpiana” in a New York project he

called “The Game: All Things Trump.” D.C.-based artist Robin Bell, who often works with nighttime projections onto public buildings, flashed words like “Impeach” and “Arrest the President” and “Experts Agree: Trump Is a Pig” onto facades all around town, including a then Trump-owned luxury hotel in the Old Post Office building. It was, perhaps, an effort to invert the domination of Trump in the national psyche by branding his spaces with unwanted criticism.

Others simply made portraits, including Dana Schutz, who depicted him in 2017 as a grotesque yet comical figure, with a luridly red, masklike face, a portrait that sold for more than \$700,000 in 2020. Trump’s likeness, his face, his body, his familiar blue suit and red tie, became an obsessive subject for artists on both sides of the political spectrum. Some Trump-supporting artists created comically heroic portraits, inflating his power and reimagining his physique well beyond the absurdities of ancient Rome, which produced legions of imperial artwork that flattered the imperial body, no matter how decrepit, malformed or decayed from self-abuse. Even since he left office, Trump has been trying to cash in on this kind of imagery with risibly comic-book-style NFTs, or digital trading cards offered for sale to his supporters, though one hesitates to even call this art.

Trump sustained his political and cultural omnipresence through a conscious or unconscious strategy of perpetual outrage. The

SEE NOTEBOOK ON E10



ART

Trump’s actual policies toward the arts were, as expected, confrontational and often merely ineffective. He made annual efforts to eliminate the National Endowment for the Arts even as the agency’s budget grew modestly during his tenure.



SAIT SERKAN GURBUZ/AP

NOTEBOOK FROM E8

Trump Show was on all the time; it never slept. Tweets could come at any hour. And soon, the belligerent narcissism of his political style became a kind of aesthetic, independent of politics, that needed to be analyzed.

It wasn’t just the way he shoved aside the prime minister of Montenegro or lobbed childish insults at anyone who criticized him. The daily news coverage, the circulation of images on the internet, and a number of compelling and brutal documentaries brought scenes of cruelty and suffering into regular view, images more powerful than fiction, more gripping than theater, more morally insistent than anything an artist could produce. A Salvadoran migrant and his toddler daughter, floating lifeless in the reeds of the Rio Grande; an Oval Office scene in which the president called Haiti and some African nations “s---hole countries.”

One artist, Paul Ramirez Jonas, functioned as a notary public for a 2017 conceptual interactive performance piece called “Alternative Facts,” in which he invited participants to submit a lie of their choosing, which he would then certify as true. It was a work that partook of both trends, absurd, yet an effort to trace the larger corrosion of Trumpism within the society at large.

There was an ugliness that transcended mere politics in these events, a kind of ugliness that disconcerted even people who might have supported the underlying political acts or beliefs that made these things happen. That ugliness demanded comment, and arts critics often stepped up to offer what little sense could be made of it. I remember staring at the facedown bodies of those Salvadoran migrants, Óscar Alberto Martínez Ramírez and his daughter Valeria, and wishing that life might be more like art, that we could interrupt it, rewind it, start over, rewrite the ending; yet also feeling that nothing any artist could create would ever rend the heart like this photograph; and more than anything, that this was a test of basic humanity, of the clash between culture and barbarism, that anyone who saw this image would say: Enough.

Ultimately, it became clear that Trumpism threatened the very possibility of art, not because of policy, or funding or freedom of expression issues, but at the existential, philosophical level. Art does many things, and is defined in many ways. Art connects us to each other, to the world, to community. Art refines our senses, sharpens our thinking, trains us in perception. Art helps

us see both passionately and clearly; it increases our capacity for empathy and care; it is a kind of moral reasoning; it elicits emotions and tames their destructive power; it draws us deeper into ourselves, helps us sort out the trivial and ephemeral from the essential and eternal; it both consoles us and sharpens our pain.

This list is neither exhaustive, nor prescriptive. Not all art does all these things, and some of these things are contradictory and even paradoxical. But Trumpism seems opposed to almost all of these things, coarsening the country, dividing it, muddying the waters. Trump has called on his followers, and soon will call on the country at large, to harden their hearts as mass deportations begin. When he says things that are demonstrably not true, that rhetoric is a relentless assault on thinking, nuance and ambiguity — all the things that art, at its best, helps to foster.

More than anything else, the omnipresence of Trumpism became the problem in 2016, and stands to be the problem again. Creativity and clear thinking require silence, listening, receptivity and time.

Trump is the master of noise, crisis, chaos. Artists don’t just need money, they need a space apart from the flashing lights, pinging cellphones, the sirens and social media alerts, and the anxieties that Trump creates and exploits. In a 2022 work called “Cursed,” artist Jenny Holzer dealt with the perpetual onslaught of distraction by reproducing Trump’s tweets on torn fragments of stamped lead-and-copper plates, and pinning them to the wall of the Guggenheim Museum, turning the ephemera of digital pollution into a kind of memorial, a fixed, static thing, permanent and terribly sad.

“I’m most worried that this country is not what I thought it was, but someplace much more cruel and nasty and selfish,” wrote Ruth Marcus, one of The Post opinion section’s lead political commentators, after Trump’s reelection. She echoed a sentiment expressed by other pundits, and many ordinary Americans. Most art critics probably feel the same way, but with an even sharper edge. You don’t struggle to make a career writing about the arts without believing absolutely in the power of art to make the world a better place, to make people better, to do all those morally redemptive things on the long list cited above.

In an earlier age, art served power, and many arts institutions today are too closely allied with power. But most of the larger art world, including many of the performing arts, literature and the fine arts, have been in the “resistance” since long before the term took on

**A spectator tosses crumbs for an Ivanka Trump look-alike to vacuum at Jennifer Rubell’s art exhibition “Ivanka Vacuuming” at D.C.’s Flashpoint Gallery in 2019.**

its current meaning.

They resist meaninglessness and absurdity, naked power and raw destruction. They make and do things to keep darkness at bay, to create spaces where the “lion griebs” nuzzle rather than consume us (to paraphrase W.H. Auden’s extraordinary image). Shadowing all of this is the possibility that none of it is true, that art, too, is meaningless and impotent, that it is at best a distraction or an irrelevance. Artists have served power, have made glorious documents of barbarism, have been purveyors of propaganda.

So, when Trumpism won the day, the disorientation for people committed to the arts may have been even more profound than that of those trying to figure out failures of messaging, demographic shifts or class realignment. It’s not just about trying to understand what happened; it’s the darker possibility that beauty will lose against barbarism, that the nation’s soul is sick, that art will never succeed in doing all the things we think it can do.

I much prefer the word “struggle” to “fight” when thinking about the essential work of politics. A fight must inevitably lead to some people winning and others losing. But a struggle is ongoing, and sometimes to lose the battle slowly is even more remarkable than to merely win a fight.

The ruins of Lindisfarne, which have been slowly losing their struggle against time since the 12th century, were built on the site of an earlier 7th century abbey. In 793, the Vikings raided the site and destroyed it. An Anglo-Saxon chronicle recorded the event: “There were excessive whirlwinds, lightning, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the sky ... and a little after those ... the ravaging of wretched heathen men destroyed God’s church at Lindisfarne.”

We will need to distinguish between imaginary dragons and real Vikings in our future. We need to understand barbarism as the chaos and will to destruction to which everyone is to some degree inclined. We need to remember every victim, every child in search of a better life whose body is found in the reeds of a river. We need to think of culture not as something we purchase or collect or pay to see, but the essential work of resisting barbarism, everywhere.

Art is struggle. It may all be in vain. But no one who cares about art can give up the struggle for one very simple reason: Even on the best days, even when the world isn’t going mad with delusion and hatred, art is a struggle to stay sane and live with purpose. It’s always been about surviving the darkness.



ART



FRED WILSON/BROOKLYN MUSEUM

REVIEW

# Egypt inspired Black artists. Was it appropriation or homage?

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT IN NEW YORK



JAS KNIGHT

**TOP:** Fred Wilson's 1993 sculpture "Grey Area (Brown Version)" consists of five identical reproductions of the same bust of Nefertiti, each one colored slightly differently. **ABOVE:** Jas Knight's 2023 diptych, "The African Origin of Civilization" depicts an African mask next to a fragment of an Egyptian bust.

In 1913, W.E.B. Du Bois staged a giant pageant called "The Star of Ethiopia" in New York, with a thousand elaborately costumed performers and detailed sets, including an Egyptian temple. Over the next 12 years, it would be seen in Philadelphia, Washington and Los Angeles, attracting an audience of more than 35,000 people for a drama that purported to tell 10,000 years of Black history with "historic accuracy and symbolic truth."

This was but one high-water mark in the long African American engagement with the cultures of northeast Africa, home of ancient Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia and Sudan, geographical, cultural and emotional reference points in a passionate search for roots and identity. "Flight Into Egypt: Black Artists and Ancient Egypt, 1876-Now," an exhibition recently opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, explores 150 years of that creative endeavor, from a painting of North Africa made late in the 19th century by Henry Ossawa Tanner to the adoption of Egyptian motifs by Black social and civil rights groups in the mid-20th century to the ongoing fascination with Egyptian motifs in popular culture, including the iconography of record covers and music videos.

Du Bois was strategic about his aims and acknowledged that "The Star of Ethiopia" was dressed in "the gown and paraphernalia in which the message of education and reasonable race pride can deck itself." There was a natural tension between the historic and symbolic, the real and the useful, genuine connection and invented affinities.

The curators of "Flight Into Egypt" — Akili Tommasino with McClain Groff — acknowledge those tensions, in academic caveats in the catalogue essays and occasionally in the actual display, which includes a rich visual history of more than 200 objects, though nothing from the Met's formidable collection of ancient Egyptian art and artifacts. The show is fascinating, but diffuse, more an effort to map a proliferating visual history than a cohesive effort to comprehend it.

Egypt has been a perennial source of fascination in both Europe and the United States. It was already an ancient civilization when the ancient Greeks and Romans looked to it for inspiration, visually and politically, especially when they needed templates for autocracy and empire. Interest surged after Napoleon's 1798 invasion and the birth of modern Egyptology in the early 19th century, which roughly coincided with the initial growth of the American republic.

The giant obelisk honoring George Washington on the National Mall suggests the imaginative sway of Egyptian architecture and style in the 1830s when the design competition for the monument was held. It also presages an essential motif of this exhibition: that one way to establish political and cultural legitimacy is to appropriate the symbols of ancient Egypt. All too often that was done through theft or expropriation, or in the case of the Washington Monument, the erection of a gigantic facsimile.

Ancient Egypt was attractive to Black Americans, especially artists, for myriad reasons. First, it was an African civilization. After centuries of slavery and racism, and the erasure of history and identity, African Americans turned to Egypt for many of the reasons that Europeans and Americans did. It was a form of connection, historical continuity and legitimacy. But because it lay on the African continent, and existed both before and largely apart from the supposedly "white" roots of Western civilization in ancient Greece and Rome, the sense of kinship was deeper and more immediate.

Visually, the art of ancient Egypt was amenable to modernist taste. To contemporary artists in the early 20th century, Egyptian art seemed

stylized, austere and confidently poised between the poles of representation and abstraction. It was ready-made with what we would call memes — the Sphinx, the pyramids, the headdress of Tutankhamen and the crown of Nefertiti — that could be deployed in paintings, sculpture, posters and advertising.

It was also something of a cipher. The literature of ancient Egypt, especially the literature that circulated in the early 20th century, gave a sense of ritual, myth and dynastic history, but nothing like the density and texture of culture bequeathed by the Greeks, or the endless and elaborate soap operas of the Romans. The culture was monumental, and rather blank.

The complexity of these connections is evident in Lois Mailou Jones's 1953 painting "Egyptian Heritage," which includes a self-portrait of the artist and the famous bust of Nefertiti in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin collection. The background to these figures uses the two-dimensional profile style of classic Egyptian painting, along with hieroglyphic motifs and a figure that suggests the goddess Hathor, wearing a disk and horns headdress. The striking thing is the expression on the artist's face, or perhaps the lack of expression. Identity is a complex thing, and one senses that Jones's search for it is unresolved.

The same sentiment is expressed more ironi-

cally in Glenn Ligon's 2008 "Gold Nobody Knew Me #1," which bears a stenciled reference to a riff by comedian Richard Pryor: "I went to Africa. I went to the Motherland to find my roots! right? Seven hundred million black people! Not one of those mother----ers knew me." It's a pithy and biting expression of what is also a painful reality: that the search for group identity often masks a deeper and frustrating desire to understand the self, the inner sense of identity and belonging.

Pryor's comedy also underscores a recurring theme of the exhibition: the efforts of white scholars, historians and Egyptologists to lay their own, exclusive claims to possession of the Egyptian inheritance. In a 1977 skit on "The Richard Pryor Show," the comedian played a Black archaeologist who discovers a bombshell text, "The Book of Life," which ascribes the origins of Egyptian civilization to Black alien gods, descending from a spaceship. His colleagues will have none of it, and lock him in the tomb.

Black researchers, archaeologists and Egyptologists were consistently excluded and marginalized, as documentary evidence included in the exhibition makes painfully clear. White Egyptologists often claimed Egypt as an exclusively or predominantly Mediterranean culture, while other scholars and some of the artists in this exhibition lay claim to it as a transhistorical

font of Black history and culture. Both claims miss the point: that these categories and identities would have been meaningless to the ancient Egyptians, who tended to think about people geographically — where they came from, especially if they posed a threat — rather than racially. Ancient Egypt was its own civilization, poised between sub-Saharan Africa, the Near East and the Mediterranean world.

Fred Wilson's 1993 sculpture "Grey Area (Brown Version)" gets at the issue with nuance and clarity. It consists of five identical reproductions of the same bust of Nefertiti seen in the painting by Jones, each one colored slightly differently, from white to brown to black. It prompts two simultaneous thoughts, one a question (what color *were* the ancient Egyptians?) and the other an impatient riposte (they are all the same).

The exhibition covers an enormous amount of ground and encompasses popular culture, science fiction, street art, fashion, and fraternal and sororal organizations that borrowed Egyptian symbols and themes. There is enough material here for several exhibitions. One of those would focus more on the visual connections between the best of the art in this exhibition, which grapples seriously with the representational language of ancient Egypt, and the work of artists inspired by that material.

It's unfortunate that the exhibition doesn't take advantage of the Met's astonishing collection of ancient Egyptian art, but that seems to have been too emotionally fraught for it to be included in this show. The reasons are institutional and cultural. The Met has long separated its ancient Egyptian art from its larger display of African art, as if there is no connection between the two. That deeply embedded though no longer intentional institutional slight inspires an incisive 2023 painting by Jas Knight, "The African Origin of Civilization," which depicts an African mask next to a fragment of an Egyptian bust, with a sharp line indicating the geometry of the diptych and the underlying curatorial incoherence.

And Egyptology, born of conquest, colonial subjugation and empire, is seen by some as still too implicated in those projects to be a legitimate discipline.

But the art of ancient Egypt was deeply meaningful to many of the artists in this exhibition, and it is disconcerting to see all the variations, riffs and fantasias it inspired without reference to the originals. Their absence also sidelines an essential question that is unaddressed. Was the art of ancient Egypt inspiring because it symbolized liberation, or power? The monuments of Pharaonic Egypt are among the most impressive in the world. But it was a hard society, with a powerful priestly caste and forms of slavery and bonded labor.

Included in the exhibition is a 1962 record cover showing the great American soprano Leontyne Price in the title role of Giuseppe Verdi's Egyptian opera, "Aida." Du Bois's 1913 pageant also included music from "Aida," an opera Verdi was reluctant to write. Temperamentally allergic to things like tyranny and theocracy, the composer called ancient Egypt "a land that once possessed a grandeur and a civilization that I could never bring myself to admire."

I suspect that many of the artists in this exhibition wouldn't admire the reality of ancient Egypt, either. This was all about invention, projection and a splash of utopian fantasy, rather like the European and American idealization of ancient Greece and Rome.

**Flight Into Egypt: Black Artists and Ancient Egypt, 1876-Now** continues through Feb. 17 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. [metmuseum.org](https://www.metmuseum.org)







# Neighbor’s pot smoking encroaches on a couple’s outside time in suburbia

## Asking Eric

R. ERIC THOMAS

**Dear Eric:** We live in a suburban neighborhood where the homes are fairly close together. We have a very nice screened-in porch and a large deck that we added two years ago. Typically, fall is our favorite time of year to be outside on our deck, and we like to eat breakfast and dinner on our porch.

Our next-door neighbors are heavy pot smokers, and the smell from the pot is so strong and offensive to us that we are no longer able to use the outside areas we used to love to use.

They have lived here for about two years and although they are somewhat friendly, they are not especially approachable.

For some reason, their pot smoking has significantly

increased this year to the point that of the five or six times a day that my husband or I walk outside our house, the smell is unbearable.

I certainly understand that it is their right to smoke on their property, and I don’t care whether they choose to smoke pot. I just don’t want to smell it. I have considered talking to the pot smokers, but I don’t know them well and have no sense of how they will react.

— *Smoked Out*

**Smoked Out:** Part of being a good neighbor is having an awareness of how one’s way of living affects everyone else. So, letting your neighbors know that you can smell their pot, and you’d rather not is a good start. And it’s the only way of finding out how they’ll react. They may

not realize that the smell is carrying, or that it bothers you.

Hopefully, they’ll make changes to solve the issue so everyone can happily coexist. If they don’t, however, you might want to invest in a porch fan to help clear the air.

**Dear Eric:** I have an issue with a neighbor who is “wilding” her yard, letting all the plants grow as they will, and, unfortunately, they are invading my yard. A nasty vine called porcelain berry has grown up into one of my trees, and strangled four limbs, so far, and pulled them down. I have seen rats in her yard, so I have four traps rebaited quarterly. Every time I try to take back my section of the yard, she runs out of her house and screams at me. I reported her yard to the city, but with no

results.

She is in her late 60s, early 70s, widowed and childless. I am 76 and also live alone, but I have three kids who check on me often and are just as bothered as I am. I have heart issues and can’t do a great deal of continuous yard work. I plan to have my lawn crew mow down the strip of encroachment, pull down the vines coming from her yard, hack back the bush the vines are coming from, and possibly, build a short wall on our shared border. However, my worry is the tree. It is the only tree I have that shades my house on that side.

— *Growing Problem*

**Growing:** As with today’s other letter, being a good neighbor involves awareness of one’s own impact. It seems your neighbor

struggles with that.

Porcelain berry is an invasive species that is very hard to control once established, so your proactivity is a good idea. Some states even have specific pages dedicated to controlling and removing the vine. You may want to search your state’s agriculture department website for help.

Talk to your lawn crew about your specific concerns regarding the tree and try to find out whether this is something they can handle. According to Trees Atlanta, an organization dedicated to planting, conserving and educating the public about trees, one method for removing porcelain berry is to unwind it carefully from the branches and trunk, with gloves and clippers. Once the vine is unwound, they recommend cutting it at the base, which will

kill the vines that are beyond reach. They recommend not trying to pull down vines that are above you.

Try writing your neighbor a note letting her know about the wall and the other landscaping plans. It seems likely that talking won’t get you anywhere, based on past experiences, but at least a note potentially staves off a confrontation on the day of. Also, you may want to ask one of your kids to be on-site that day to help support you.

Send questions to R. Eric Thomas at [eric@askingeric.com](mailto:eric@askingeric.com) or P.O. Box 22474, Philadelphia, PA 19110. Follow him on Instagram and sign up for his weekly newsletter at [rerithomas.com](http://rerithomas.com).

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## MOVIE DIRECTORY

### DISTRICT

**AMC Georgetown 14** 3111 K Street NW  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 9:30-10:00-10:30-12:00-1:30-2:00-5:00-7:00-8:30-9:00-10:30  
**Anora (R)** CC: 5:10-6:35  
**A Real Pain (R)** CC: 9:35-10:30  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 9:25-10:35-1:25-4:20-7:10-10:05  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 9:00-11:45-2:15-4:45-7:15  
**Conclave (PG)** CC: 10:25-1:15-4:05-6:50-9:40  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 10:00  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 5:30  
**Wicked: The IMAX Experience (PG)** CC: 11:00-2:30-6:00  
**Heretic (R)** CC: 5:45-8:20  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 3:25  
**Gladiator II: The IMAX Experience (R)** CC: 9:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** CC: 11:00-12:45-4:05-6:30-9:00  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 3:30  
**Anora (R)** CC: 11:35AM  
**A Real Pain (R)** CC: 2:40  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 9:45-12:15-2:45-3:15-5:15-7:45-9:40  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 10:45-2:00-4:15-5:30-7:30-8:15-9:00-10:25  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 12:20  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 1:30  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 1:00

**Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street** 630 Rhode Island Avenue NE  
**Love Actually (R)** 6:00  
**Wicked (PG)** 10:00  
**A Real Pain (R)** 11:15  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 10:00-1:00-4:00-7:00  
**Gladiator II (R)** 10:20-3:30-4:20-7:30-8:00-9:30  
**Heretic (R)** 10:45  
**Wicked (PG)** 10:40-11:20-12:25-2:05-2:45-3:30-4:15-6:30-6:45-7:15-8:15-10:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 9:30-10:15-11:45-12:30-3:15-6:15-9:15-11:15  
**Gladiator II (R)** 11:45AM  
**Wicked (PG)** 2:35  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 1:15

**Angelika Pop-Up at Union Market** 550 Penn Street NE - Unit E  
**Gladiator II (R)** 10:00-1:20-4:35-7:45  
**Wicked (PG)** 9:30-1:00-4:25-8:15  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 9:00-11:30-2:00-4:40-7:00-9:30

**Avalon Theatre** 5612 Connecticut Avenue  
**A Real Pain (R)** 12:30-2:45-5:10-7:30  
**Conclave (PG)** 11:00-1:45-4:30-7:15  
**Van Gogh - Poets and Lovers** 10:30AM

**Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema** 807 V Street Northwest  
**Wicked (PG)** 12:30-1:15-1:45-3:10-4:10-5:00-7:30-8:15  
**Anora (R)** 4:25-7:10  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 12:45-4:40-6:30-7:20  
**Gladiator II (R)** 4:00-7:00  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 2:00  
**Gladiator II (R)** 1:00

**Landmark E Street Cinema** 555 11th Street Northwest  
**Wicked (PG)** 12:00-2:00-3:30-4:30-5:30-7:00-8:00  
**Anora (R)** 6:30  
**A Real Pain (R)** 1:30  
**Conclave (PG)** 12:15-6:45  
**Will & Harper (R)** 12:25  
**Emilia Perez (R)** 6:15  
**Gladiator II (R)** 12:45-7:30  
**Maria (R)** 12:30-7:15  
**The Piano Lesson (PG-13)** 3:10  
**Wicked (PG)** 1:00  
**Anora (R)** 3:45  
**Conclave (PG)** 3:00  
**Gladiator II (R)** 4:15  
**Maria (R)** 3:25

**Regal Gallery Place** 701 Seventh Street Northwest  
**Elf (PG)** 10:40AM  
**Wicked (PG)** 9:50-10:50-11:20-11:50-12:15-1:50-2:30-3:40-5:40-6:30-7:10-7:40-8:10-9:10-10:10  
**Red One (PG-13)** 9:20-12:25-3:20-6:10-9:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 9:30-10:00-12:00-12:30-1:00-1:30-3:10-3:30-4:00-4:30-5:20-6:00-6:30-7:30-9:00-10:00

**Gladiator II (R)** 11:10-12:20-2:50-3:00-6:50-7:20-9:20-9:50-10:20  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 9:40  
**Heretic (R)** 10:30  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** 10:10AM  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 11:00-1:40-4:20-7:00  
**Wicked (PG)** 4:10  
**Gladiator II (R)** 6:20  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 3:05  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 2:10-8:00

### MARYLAND

**AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center** 8633 Colesville Road  
**Anora (R)** CC: 6:45  
**A Real Pain (R)** CC: 5:00  
**Conclave (PG)** CC: 1:15  
**A Real Pain (R)** 12:00-7:00-9:00  
**Anora (R)** 2:05  
**Conclave (PG)** 3:45-9:30  
**Pulp Fiction (30th Anniversary) (R)** 6:30  
**Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind (R)** 8:30  
**Amadeus (R)** 3:15  
**The Wizard of Oz (1939) (PG)** 1:00

**AMC Academy 8** 6196 Greenbelt Road  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:00-4:00-6:30-9:00  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 7:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 1:30

**AMC Annapolis Mall 11** 1020 Annapolis Mall Road  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 9:15  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** CC: 8:10AM  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 12:20-3:25-6:30-9:20  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 8:45-11:15-1:45-4:15-6:45  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** CC: 10:20  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 8:15-9:10-11:40-3:00-4:00-6:20-7:20-9:45-10:40  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 11:00  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 9:35-12:40-3:55-7:10  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 10:30-1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 8:20-9:20-10:40-11:50-12:50-2:20-3:20-4:30-6:00-7:00-8:00-10:00-10:30  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 9:15AM  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 8:00-9:50-12:00-12:20-2:30-2:50-5:00-5:20-7:30-7:50-9:30-10:15  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 12:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 9:30AM

**AMC Center Park 8** 4001 Powder Mill Road  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 11:45-3:15-3:45-6:45-7:15-10:15  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 10:30-1:30-4:15-7:00-10:00  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 10:15-10:45-12:00-12:45-2:30-5:00-7:30-9:45-10:45  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 10:00-11:30-1:15-2:45-4:30-6:00-7:45-9:15-11:00  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 1:30-5:00-8:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** CC: 1:15-3:45-6:15-8:45  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 10:00AM

**AMC Columbia 14** 10300 Little Patuxent Parkway  
**Moana 2: The IMAX Experience (PG)** 10:45-1:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 2:15-7:15  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:00-2:30-6:00-9:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 10:00-11:45-3:30-4:45-6:15-8:45-9:45  
**Gladiator II (R)** 11:30-3:00-6:30-10:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 12:45

**AMC DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18** 9811 Washingtonian Center  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 9:00  
**The Best Christmas Pageant Ever (PG)** CC: 11:00-1:45-4:15  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** CC: 9:50-12:25  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 10:30-1:30-4:30-7:40-10:35  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 10:15-1:00-3:45-6:30  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** CC: 10:00-12:45-3:45-6:30-9:30-11:00  
**Smile 2 (R)** CC: 7:30-10:45  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 11:45-1:20-3:15-4:45-6:40-8:15-10:00  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 1:30-5:00-8:45

**Wicked: The IMAX Experience (PG)** CC: 9:00-12:30-4:00  
**Heretic (R)** CC: 7:00-10:00  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 11:30-3:00-6:15-9:30  
**Hello, Love, Again** 10:00-1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00  
**Gladiator II: The IMAX Experience (R)** CC: 7:30-11:00  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** CC: 9:15-12:00-3:00-5:45-8:30  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 10:00-11:00-12:00-2:30-3:45-6:15-6:45-7:15-9:45-10:15-10:45  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 9:45-11:15-11:45-12:45-1:30-2:00-3:30-4:15-4:45-6:15-7:00-7:30-9:00-9:45-10:15  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 10:00AM  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 10:45AM

**AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12** 800 Shoppers Way  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 12:30-1:15-2:00-3:15-4:45-6:45-8:15-9:45  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** CC: 2:00  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 12:45-3:45-6:45-10:15  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 12:45-4:00-5:45-6:30-8:15-9:00  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** CC: 11:15-4:40-7:20-10:00  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 11:40-1:00-3:00-4:20-6:20-7:40-9:45  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 11:45-5:30-9:00  
**Wicked: The IMAX Experience (PG)** CC: 4:00  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 11:45-3:00-6:10-9:15  
**Gladiator II: The IMAX Experience (R)** CC: 7:30-10:50  
**Moana 2: The IMAX Experience (PG)** CC: 11:00-1:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 3:15

**AMC Montgomery 16** 7101 Democracy Boulevard  
**Wicked (PG)** 9:50  
**The Best Christmas Pageant Ever (PG)** 10:00-12:30  
**A Real Pain (R)** 9:30-4:45-7:30-10:15  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** 9:00-11:30-2:15-5:00-7:45-9:50  
**Red One (PG-13)** 9:15-1:00-4:00-7:00-10:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:15-1:45-4:30-7:15  
**Conclave (PG)** 10:15-1:15-4:15-7:15  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 3:00-5:45-8:30-10:15  
**Gladiator II (R)** 9:30-10:00-12:00-1:30-3:15-5:00-7:00-8:30-9:30-10:15  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** 9:30-12:45-4:00-7:15  
**Wicked (PG)** 9:00-10:00-10:45-11:15-11:45-12:45-1:45-2:30-3:00-3:30-4:15-5:15-6:00-6:45-7:45-8:45-10:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 9:15-10:30-11:25-1:00-2:00-2:45-3:30-6:15-6:45-8:00-9:00-9:45-10:00-10:30-12:15-5:30

**AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9** 11115 Mail Circle  
**Wicked (PG)** CC: 10:15-11:00-1:45-2:30-5:15-6:00-9:30  
**Red One (PG-13)** CC: 11:30-2:30-5:30-8:30-9:15  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 9:30-10:00-12:30-2:15-3:00-4:45-5:30-7:15-8:00  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** CC: 10:00AM  
**Gladiator II (R)** CC: 11:15-12:00-3:30-6:00-7:00-8:45-9:45  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 12:45-4:15-7:45  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 11:15-12:00-3:30-6:00-7:00-8:45-9:45  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** CC: 12:45-4:15-7:45  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** CC: 2:45  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00  
**Moana 2 (PG)** CC: 11:45AM

**Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD** 7000 Arundel Mills Circle  
**Moana 2 (PG)** XD: 8:20-11:00-1:40-4:20-7:00-9:40-12:00-1:40-8:10-3:30-9:00-9:30-9:40-10:40-11:10-11:40-12:10-12:20-12:40-1:20-1:50-2:20-2:50-3:00-4:00-5:00-5:20-5:30-5:40-6:00-6:40  
**Gladiator II (R)** 8:15-8:35-9:20-9:50-11:40-12:05-1:15-3:05-3:30-4:10-4:40-6:30-6:55-7:35-8:05-9:55-10:20-11:00-11:30-12:45

**Moana 2 (PG)** 7:40-8:10-8:15-8:25-8:40-9:20-10:20-10:40-10:50-11:05-11:20-12:01  
**Wicked (PG)** XD: 8:05-11:40-3:15-6:50  
**Red One (PG-13)** 8:10-9:25-11:10-12:50-4:05-7:05-8:15-10:10  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 8:40-2:00-7:20  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 8:15-1:55-4:50-7:35-10:30  
**Heretic (R)** 7:45-10:35  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** 9:45-1:00-4:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 11:20-4:40-10:00  
**Wicked (PG)** 8:20-8:30-8:45-9:35-11:05-12:05-12:20-12:40-2:45-3:30-4:40-3:55-4:35-6:20-7:10-7:15-7:30-7:50-10:05-10:45-10:50-10:55-11:10  
**Red One (PG-13)** 2:10  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 11:10AM  
**Gladiator II (R)** XD: 10:25  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 9:05-1:10-4:15-4:45-8:20-11:25  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 9:20-10:00-2:40-3:20-8:00  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:55AM

**Cinépolis Gaithersburg** 629 Center Point Way  
**Wicked (PG)** 10:00-11:00-11:30-2:00-3:30-3:00-6:00-7:00-7:30-10:00-10:45  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 10:00-10:30-11:00-1:00-1:30-2:00-4:00-4:30-5:00-7:00-7:30-8:00-10:00-10:30  
**Gladiator II (R)** 10:30-11:15-12:30-2:30-3:30-4:30-6:30-8:15-10:45  
**Tel Visa** 7:15

**Greenbelt Cinema** 125 Cedarway  
**Wicked (PG)** 1:45-5:00  
**Heretic (R)** 5:15-2:00

**Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema** 7235 Woodmont Avenue  
**Wicked (PG)** 12:15-1:30-3:30-5:00-7:00-8:20  
**Anora (R)** 4:30  
**A Real Pain (R)** 12:20-7:45  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 12:00-1:00-2:30-3:45-4:45-6:10-7:15-8:15  
**Conclave (PG)** 12:50-4:10-7:20  
**Gladiator II (R)** 12:40-4:00-7:30  
**Maria (R)** 12:30-3:15-6:00

**Landmark at Annapolis Harbour Center** 2474 Solomons Island Road Unit H-1  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:10-12:00-1:00-2:30-3:30-4:30-6:00-7:00  
**The Best Christmas Pageant Ever (PG)** 11:25-5:05-7:30  
**Red One (PG-13)** 11:30-2:10-4:50  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:00-12:15-1:20-2:00-2:40-4:00-5:00-6:20-7:20  
**Conclave (PG)** 2:25  
**Gladiator II (R)** 11:20-12:30-3:45-7:10  
**Red One (PG-13)** 7:25  
**Gladiator II (R)** 4:45

**Phoenix Theatres Marlow 6** 3539 Branch Avenue  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:00-2:30-6:00-9:30  
**Red One (PG-13)** 11:05-1:50-4:35-7:35-10:15  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:45-1:30-2:15-3:00-4:45-5:30-7:00-7:15-8:00-9:45  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 9:30  
**Gladiator II (R)** 11:15-2:45-6:15-9:40  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 12:30-10:30

**Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 2D & IMAX** 900 Ellsworth Drive  
**Elf (PG)** 11:10AM  
**Wicked (PG)** 10:20-10:50-11:20-12:20-12:40-2:05-2:40-3:05-4:10-4:35-6:30-7:00-8:00-8:30-10:10  
**The Best Christmas Pageant Ever (PG)** 12:05-3:10  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** 2:55  
**Red One (PG-13)** 12:00-6:15-9:45

**Moana 2 (PG)** 9:25-10:55-11:25-12:15-12:30-1:50-2:20-3:15-3:25-4:45-5:15-6:10-6:20-7:40-8:10-9:05  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 5:50-8:55  
**Gladiator II (R)** 10:10-11:00-12:25-1:40-4:05-4:40-5:10-6:00-6:50-7:50-8:35-8:50-9:55  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 11:50-3:35-7:30  
**Heretic (R)** 9:10

**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** 10:35-2:00-5:35-9:20  
**Gladiator II: The IMAX Experience (R)** 7:20  
**Moana 2: The IMAX Experience (PG)** 10:25-1:20-4:15  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 9:55-11:55-12:45-3:00-3:45-5:45-6:40-8:40-9:35  
**Gladiator II (R)** 2:50

**Regal Germantown** 2000 Century Boulevard  
**Elf (PG)** 11:20AM  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:40-12:10-1:10-1:40-3:20-3:50-4:50-5:20-6:50-7:20-7:50-8:20  
**Red One (PG-13)** 1:00-4:00-7:00  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:50-12:20-12:50-1:20-2:30-3:00-3:30-4:00-4:30-5:10-5:40-6:10-6:40-7:40-8:10-8:40  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 8:50  
**Gladiator II (R)** 11:30-12:30-2:50-4:10-6:20-7:30  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 4:20  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor. Spy. Assassin. (PG-13)** 2:10-5:30  
**Moana 2 3D (PG)** 1:50-7:10  
**Wicked (PG)** 12:40

**Regal Hyattsville Royale** 6505 America Boulevard  
**Elf (PG)** 10:30AM  
**Wicked (PG)** 11:00-12:30-1:50-3:30-3:40-4:20-5:40-6:50-7:40-9:10  
**The Wild Robot (PG)** 12:20  
**Red One (PG-13)** 10:40-11:20-5:30-8:30  
**Moana 2 (PG)** 11:20-12:40-1:20-2:00-3:30-4:10-4:40-6:10-7:20-8:50-10:00  
**Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13)** 1:40-4:30-7:30  
**Smile 2 (R)** 9:50  
**Gladiator II (R)** 10:00-1:30-3:10-5:10-7:00-8:40  
**Wicked 3D (PG)** 10:10AM  
**Bonhoeffer: Pastor**



DINING



PHOTOS BY SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Salamander hotel hosts Afro-Caribbean jam session

Stars are born and the District is honored at the new Dogon by Kwame Onwuachi

BY TOM SIETSEMA

Dogon

1330 Maryland Ave. SW. 855-228-6325 [salamanderdc.com](http://salamanderdc.com). Open for dinner 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. Tuesday through Saturday. **Prices:** Appetizers \$18 to \$38, main courses \$27 to \$110 (for shareable wagyu short rib). **Sound check:** 79 decibels/Must speak with raised voice. **Accessibility:** No barriers to entry; restrooms are ADA-approved.

At Dogon by Kwame Onwuachi, the seductive new restaurant in the Salamander hotel, some of the first words a newcomer hears from servers are unexpected: “Welcome home,” they say.

It’s one of many ways the young Afro-Caribbean restaurant distinguishes itself from the steady stream of arrivals in Washington.

The other, of course, is a theme that ties some Washington history with the many stories from chef Onwuachi, 35, the Bronx native whose résumé includes the short-lived Shaw Bijou and Kith and Kin in Washington and the “Wicked”-hot Tatiana in New York. His latest labor of love covers a lot of ground, with references to his Nigerian Jamaican father’s roots, his mother’s Creole Trinidadian background and Onwuachi’s affection for the cultures and cuisines that make Washington one of the best food cities in America.

After the hotel’s owner, Sheila Johnson, recruited him to open a restaurant near L’Enfant Plaza, Onwuachi discovered the story of Benjamin Banneker, the noted astronomer and surveyor appointed by George Washington to map out the nation’s capital. The detail informs the look of the dining room, whose soaring ceiling resembles a starlit moonscape. In a sweet bit of planning, Dogon opened Sept. 9, the same day the city of Washington was officially named in 1791. The guest list included Gwen Marable, a direct descendant of Banneker, a freed Black man connected to West Africa by ancestors who were members of the Dogon tribe in Mali. (Say DOE-gone.)

You may learn some of this



Dogon opened inside the Salamander hotel on Sept. 9, the same date the city of Washington received its name in 1791.

background as you settle in and the servers go over the menu. For a nanosecond, I’m disappointed when they explain, like every other restaurant, that the food is meant to be shared and “comes out as it’s ready.” Et tu, Chef? How I miss old-fashioned, appetizer-then-entree pacing. Whatever arrives first erases your hesitation, however, including the bread.

Warm coco bread, presented as rolls with a crackle of sea salt, doesn’t last long after the Caribbean notion meets up with malted sorghum butter. The other fine first impression marries soul food with Ethiopian accents: hot cornbread, served with a swipe of butter zapped with shiro and topped with toasted mitmita.

A few dishes will be familiar to Onwuachi followers. I’m pleased to see again his piri piri salad: a colorful gathering of tart gooseberries, juicy grapes, melon balls and half an avocado filled with toasted almond butter, an evolution of

a dish the chef served at Kith and Kin, which he says he almost revived in this space but decided to “leave in the past.” The salad is finished tableside with an electric papaya dressing and green seasoning oil that make a good case for double — nay, quadruple — dipping. “Mom Dukes Shrimp” takes us to the chef’s childhood home, where a young Onwuachi ate shrimp doused in butter, garlic and Creole spices. The restaurant version is fancied up with orange juice, wine, lobster stock and, jokes the chef, “anything that crawls on the bottom of the ocean,” meaning the shells from the sea treasures used at Dogon. It’s intense, finger-licking-good eating.

A chef wishing to showcase local pride hereabouts is obligated to offer crab. Onwuachi puts the crustacean on a pedestal — actually, a big bowl of rock salt festooned with cinnamon sticks and star anise — by serving blue crab spiced with trendy chili crisp in its shell. The rousing dip goes on half-dollar-size, blini-light hoe cakes and gets eaten with aji verde sauce, a nod to the green condiment doled out at area Peruvian chicken shops. Eating this food is like watching a magician. *How’d he do that?* In the case of the spread, a spell is cast with the help of crab butter and shitto, Ghana’s brassy hot sauce.

You might skip past what the menu simply calls “Chicken and Rice.” You’d be missing one of Dogon’s finest moments, a shout-out to Ethiopia’s influence on the Washington food scene. The chicken, marinated in berbere and niter kibbeh, similar to Indian ghee, arrives with toppings of raw onions and fresh herbs and a mound of jollof rice. The grains, cooked in roasted shrimp stock, swell with flavor. The mind reels and the mouth waters.

A Midas touch surfaces

again and again. I thought I knew collard greens, one of those comforts everyone thinks their momma does best. The kitchen, which benefits from the talent of chef de cuisine Martel Stone, 36, introduces diners to something wholly new, a dish you can’t stop eating because velvety greens, caramelized onions and beef bacon make such beautiful music together. Stone, who worked under his boss at Kith and Kin and helped open Tatiana, prefers the rich, clean flavor of the beef bacon as opposed to pork bacon. So will you. Then there’s Onwuachi’s mashup of Korean food, specifically galbi, with Nigeria, namely suya, the spicy beef skewers sold on streets there. In Dogon’s telling, slices of grilled wagyu short rib are bundled with a blazing chili jam and pickled radishes in cool lettuce wraps for something that tastes traditional and novel at the same time.

Braised oxtails have much to recommend them. Jumping with jerk seasoning, ginger and curry, they taste of the islands. Their caramelized sauce shines. But why so ... tough? The dish was the lone miss across several enchanted evenings.

Derek Brown created the drinks list. Good call, given his prominent role in growing the city’s cocktail scene, both behind the bar and as an author. Brown also taps into his personal taste, and the rising sober movement, with low- and no-alcohol drinks that are every sip as thoughtful as the spirited ones. And if you want some wine to bridge the lobster escovitch and the wagyu short ribs, enlist the services of the dapper general manager and sommelier, Michael Woods. We did and got a soft, nicely peppery Netzl Zweigelt from a slice of Austria that mirrors the restaurant’s embrace of tradition and innovation.

Approaching the host stand off the lobby of the Salamander sets one up for something dramatic inside. Long metal chains frame the entry, and what Onwuachi calls “shades of nighttime” find their way in the plush purple seats and elsewhere. Designers were hired to share the chef’s story in the long dining room, which is notable mostly for its intimate bar and light at the end of the tunnel — the exhibition kitchen — as you traverse the floor.

Unfortunately, the room is so dark you’re forced to read the menu close to the illuminated glass globes on your table, and other artistic flourishes in Dogon are lost. Like most

hot spots, the space is also loud. The playlist rocks. What’s not to love about DeBarge, Snoh Aalegra and Masego to accompany some of the most enticing cooking in town? But the combination of the music, merriment and hard surfaces require servers to repeat their caution about the heat awaiting diners in the habanero-garlic sauce and to rerun the anecdote about Ben’s Bowl, a crazy-good pairing of curry-spiced fried lamb strips and golden chickpea-potato puree completed with fried potato bits. The dish, which rouses every taste bud, honors the late owner of Ben’s Chili Bowl, Ben Ali, a native of Trinidad.

Do customers mind the ambient distractions? Their faces suggest otherwise. So do their voices. No one bats an eye if you start singing to the soundtrack. And that’s the vibe Onwuachi goes for. Dogon is the uncommon high-end restaurant where a largely Black clientele is catered to by a majority Black staff, something I point out because it lets a historically marginalized group feel — *be* — front and center. Yet Dogon makes sure everyone in the congregation is embraced. Already, Onwuachi has helped out with one engagement proposal, at his four-seat chef’s counter. “So cool, to see love like that,” says the chef, whose job was to hide the ring on his person and offer some opening lines. (The room erupted in applause when a “yes!” was called out.)

There are just two desserts, a surprise for an ambitious hotel restaurant. Get both. The pound cake is crisp around the edges and rummy, embellished with charred gooseberries, tamed with rum syrup, plus a drift of whipped cream. A refreshing ode to cherries — the official fruit of D.C. — combines cherry tea sorbet, vanilla pastry cream and cherry juice passed through a Japanese icemaker and transformed into ragged pink shards.

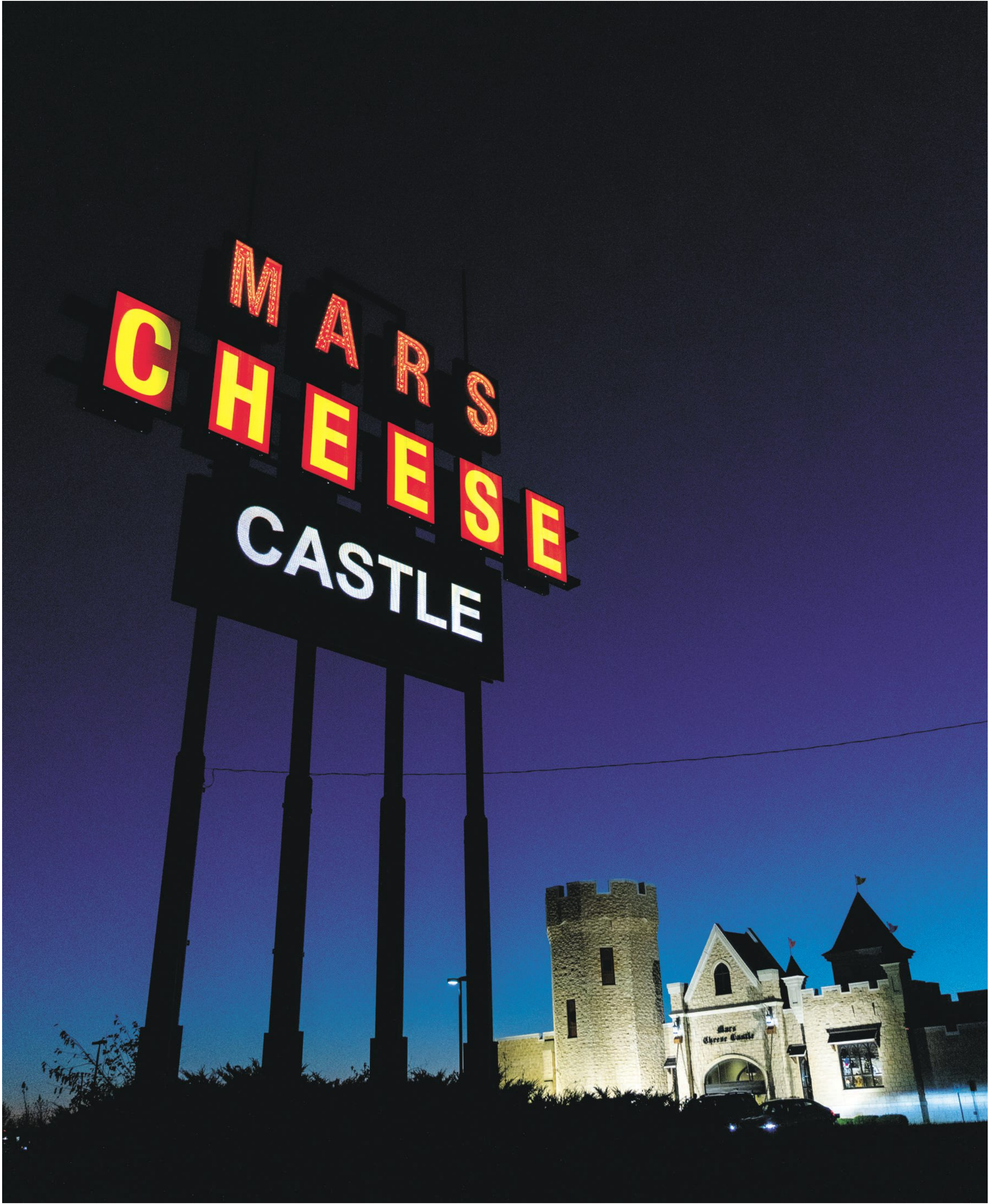
Dogon follows a number of West African-themed establishments in the United States and abroad and packs in abundant intentions, not unlike the star chef, who manages to juggle his many interests with rare grace, the occasional f-bomb excluded. His accomplishments — memoirist, co-host of the Family Reunion in Middleburg, the subject of a future movie, the author of a forthcoming cookbook — read like those of a group of people. I appreciate how Washington figures in so much of what he does.

Welcome home, Kwame.



Chef Kwame Onwuachi, left, and chef de cuisine Martel Stone at Dogon.





KATHLEEN HINKEL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The 46,000-square-foot Mars Cheese Castle in Kenosha, Wisconsin, is a purveyor of many things: candy, pasta, relish, Christmas ornaments, T-shirts, tortilla chips — and cheese, among various other items.

# In Wisconsin, cheese reigns. And its palace is in Kenosha.

**BY JOAN NIESEN**  
IN KENOSHA, WIS.

**O**n a flat, straight stretch of Interstate 94 just north of the Illinois-Wisconsin border, a tan, turreted castle rises up against the horizon. Across the highway, there's a Culver's and a Dairy Queen and a bustling BP gas station, and down the frontage road sits a towing company's squat garage. It's a speed-through section of flyover country, but every day, hundreds of cars stop and signal. Mars Cheese Castle beckons.

Mars is the Upper Midwest's most medieval — and perhaps most eye-catching — roadside attraction: a landmark, a specialty grocery store and a bar, all in one. It's a 46,000-square-foot cheese (and sausage, souvenir, sandwich and liquor) store, where a shop-

per can pick up 15-year aged cheddar, gummy worms, a case of local beer and a polyurethane foam cheese hat in a single, rapturous trip. There are stained-glass windows and two ornate thrones.

"I think people don't know what to expect when they come in," said Natalie Broussard, the granddaughter of the Cheese Castle's founders who now helps run the business. "Some people have heard, 'You've got to have a bloody mary.' Some people have heard, 'You come in for a Reuben.' And others see the billboard and just go, 'What is that?'"

It's a fair question. When it comes to America's roadside curiosities, the Cheese Castle is hard to categorize. It's as imposing as Minnesota's Jolly Green Giant and the 50-ton Wall Drug dinosaur in South Dakota. It leaves travelers fed and watered and

SEE **CHEESE CASTLE** ON **F3**

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**COZY GETAWAYS**  
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**ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE**  
Can you trust AI influencers sharing vacation tips? **F6**



# Travel deals that are worth your time (and money)

BY ANDREA SACHS

When the holidays hit, deals abound across the travel industry, from cruises to hotel spas to neck pillows.

Black Friday, Cyber Monday and Travel Deal Tuesday emails flood our inboxes with promises of savings. Whether they're any good is another story.

Hotel discounts can come with blackout dates that make booking feel like playing Tetris. Supercheap airfare may not include your preferred routes.

Mostly, there's a lot of junk out there to sort through. So we rounded up deals worth your time — and your PTO.

Some deals are dynamic and subject to change. Check company websites for the most up-to-date prices.

## Flights

Breeze, the budget airline that blew onto the travel scene in May 2021, is offering one-way sale fares from \$29. The deal applies to more than 110 U.S. routes and from all but two of its airports (Los Angeles and San Diego). Sample pairings include Providence, Rhode Island, to Savannah, Georgia; Provo, Utah, to San Francisco; and Fort Myers, Florida, to Louisville. Book Nov. 29 through Dec. 1 for travel Dec. 4 to May 13. Holiday blackouts apply.

With TAP's Black FlyDay, save on round-trip flights to Europe, starting at \$357 in economy and \$2,199 for business class. For example, economy flights from Washington Dulles to Madrid start at \$379; San Francisco to Milan from \$429; and Chicago to Lisbon, Porto or Faro, Portugal, from \$469. Book by Dec. 4; travel Jan. 14 to May 15.

Play, the budget Icelandic airline, is offering 30 percent off flights from Baltimore, Boston and New York Stewart International Airport to several European destinations, including Paris, London, Amsterdam and Berlin. Book by Dec. 4; travel Dec. 1-15, Jan. 8-May 31 or Sept. 1-Oct. 31. For example, a round-trip flight from New York to Copenhagen starts at \$402; for Boston to Iceland's Keflavik airport, fares start at \$258.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

## Hotels

Arlo Hotels, a boutique chain with locations in New York, Chicago, Miami and D.C., is offering 40 percent off rates through Dec. 4, plus an extra 10 percent off on Black Friday through Monday. Stay through Dec. 30, 2025. Use booking code CYBER. For the early deal, a room in Midtown Manhattan in January starts at \$114 a night, plus taxes — a certifiable bargain.

Muy'Ono Resorts, a collection of luxury resorts in Belize, is shaving 50 percent off stays at its six properties, plus 20 percent off fly-fishing packages at Blue Horizon Lodge. The deal applies to all room types at Thatch Caye Resort, Copal Tree Lodge, Hopkins Bay Resort, Sweet Songs Jungle Lodge, the Watermark Belize Hotel and Royal Belize. Book a room

by Dec. 4 for stays through Dec. 17, 2025. The fishing deal is valid through Jan. 30 and June 1 to Dec. 31, 2025. Two nights in a suite at the Copal Tree Lodge, for instance, starts at \$584 for two people in January, down from \$1,168.

IHG Hotels & Resorts, which has 19 brands, including Kimpton, Six Senses and Even, is offering IHG One Rewards members 25 percent off rates and nonmembers 17 percent off stays booked by Dec. 3 and completed by April 30. The cyber deal applies to participating hotels around the world, including in the United States, the Caribbean, Europe, Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Middle East and Africa. For example, a January stay at the Voco Paris Montparnasse starts at \$122, plus taxes,

and a night at the Kimpton St Honoré Paris starts at \$442. In addition, members can save up to 40 percent off Iberostar Beachfront Resorts in such destinations as Mexico, the Caribbean and Spain.

The Excellence Collection has a sale on its beachy all-inclusive properties in Mexico, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. Receive 52 percent off refundable rates and 58 percent off non-refundable prices. No promo code needed for reservations made between Nov. 29 and Dec. 3. The deal applies to all eight resorts. Travel December through the end of 2025. With the deal, two nights in January at the Excellence Riviera Cancún, an all-adult, all-suites resort in Mexico, costs \$1,393 with taxes for two people.

## Cruises

With Atlas Ocean Voyages, save up to 20 percent on select Antarctica expeditions in 2025 and 2026. The luxury yacht operator is also throwing in credits of up to \$400 per stateroom or \$600 per suite on bookings made by Dec. 7. Guests can use the credit on excursions and services, such as a guided kayak tour, a camping overnight on the seventh continent or spa treatments. The deal applies to certain departures starting early next year. For example, World Voyager's nine-night Antarctica Expedition leaving on Nov. 25, 2025, starts at \$8,999 per person. The Drake Fly and Sail includes a week of cruising; one night's hotel in Buenos Aires and Punta Arenas, Chile; and private charter flight from Buenos Aires to Ushuaia, Argentina, and from

King George Island to Punta Arenas.

Hurtigruten Expeditions is discounting select voyages by up to 50 percent. Book by Dec. 9 and save on all-inclusive expeditions to Antarctica, Alaska, the Northwest Passage, Greenland and South America, among other destinations. The deal also covers some bird-centric cruises with its new partner, the National Audubon Society. For example, a seven-night Galápagos Islands expedition starts at \$5,360 per person, down from more than \$8,500.

## Tours and other travel

Exodus Adventure Travels, which specializes in small-group guided adventures, is taking 20 percent off nearly all of its trips departing next January through September. The deal also includes a free one-year Priority Pass membership with two airport lounge visits when you book by Dec. 2 and use promo code BLACKFRIDAY24. Sample bargain: the nine-day Sri Lankan Highlights tour, which starts at \$1,500.

With EF Go Ahead Tours, save up to \$800 on all tours, such as Highlights of Japan: Tokyo to Kyoto, which starts at \$3,679. Book by Dec. 1. In addition, on Travel Tuesday, save up to 25 percent on all Go Ahead tours.

## Luggage

Save up to 60 percent on Calpack items, including backpacks, duffels, roller bags and totes. The Hue carry-on with front pocket costs \$159, down from \$265, for instance, and the Stevyn large rolling duffel goes for \$74, down from \$185. Deals ends on Dec. 1.

Tumi, the high-end luggage maker, is offering up to 30 percent off a wide range of travel items. For instance, the extended trip expandable four-wheeled packing case costs \$665, as compared with \$950, and the Compass Flap Crossbody is reduced from \$325 to \$259. Purchase by Dec. 1.

Natalie B. Compton contributed to this report.

# How fast is a helicopter to the airport? We compared one to an Uber.

BY NATALIE B. COMPTON

On paper, the 16-mile commute between New York City and its biggest airport sounds like a cake-walk. But the reality of getting to John F. Kennedy International Airport is neither short nor sweet.

At peak times, a cab from Manhattan can take an hour and cost \$70 before surcharges, tip and tolls. With surge pricing, Uber fares can far exceed \$100. For less than \$20, there's the train, which can take anywhere between a half-hour and 75 minutes, depending on where you hop on.

Or, if you really can't wait, you could take a helicopter.

Blade, a New York-based helicopter taxi service, promises to shuttle customers between the city and JFK (or Newark Liberty International Airport in New Jersey) in five minutes. Its base fare for a one-way trip is \$195. No switching trains, no hurried cabbies — just smooth sailing over the gridlock below.

Blade takes customers to airports and the Hamptons on Long Island by helicopter (or fancy bus), and it offers private jet charters in the region and beyond. Blade is also the largest dedicated air transporter of human organs in the United States, said CEO Rob Wiesenthal, who founded the company in 2014.

While a \$900 jaunt to the Hamptons is exponentially out of my price range, Blade's airport service is less far-fetched.

On a recent Sunday, before a late-afternoon flight from JFK to D.C., my cheapest Uber option from the Upper West Side was \$146. For a comparable price (with a first-time-rider coupon), I could take back a half-hour of my time and pretend to be a character in "Succession."

To compare experiences, I sent my husband in an Uber while I tried Blade.

## The booking process

Like Uber, booking a ride with Blade can be done quickly through its app or website. Unlike Uber, you can't hail an affordable ride around-the-clock.

Wiesenthal wouldn't say how many flights Blade offers per day but said that, during the week, "you can fly to Newark or Kennedy pretty much 12 hours a day."

The standard window for "by-the-seat" trips (vs. chartering the entire cabin) to JFK generally runs weekdays between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m., and from 1 p.m. to



PHOTOS BY NATALIE B. COMPTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Reporter Natalie B. Compton takes a Blade trip to John F. Kennedy International Airport on Nov. 3.



Blade recommends arriving at least 15 minutes before takeoff.

8 p.m. on Sundays. There are no such flights on Saturdays.

Customers can "crowdsource" flights that aren't on the schedule. After requesting a specific time, Blade will open slots for the public to book; the more people who join in, the less it costs the original requester. Alternatively, you can book the entire aircraft for yourself and up to seven other guests, starting at \$1,875.

I booked my seat a couple of days in advance — and still had limited options. The best one for my schedule left an hour before my Delta flight boarded and cost \$265, which was \$70 higher than

the advertised base fare. Again, like Uber — or commercial airlines — the company practices dynamic pricing. The same trip during the week of Thanksgiving, for example, was \$325.

With my first-time-flier coupon registering a \$50 discount, the total came to \$215.

## The lounge

Blade operates from three heliports across the city. My trip departed from Lounge West, located on the Hudson River near Hudson Yards.

It's a portable building like you'd find at a construction site,

but it's painted matte black (save a few white Blade logos). A black chain-link fence with privacy netting surrounds the tarmac, protecting the identities of the travelers beyond. Wiesenthal told me that 60 percent of customers use the airport shuttle for business travel; leisure travelers account for the rest — not only people who want to get out of Dodge fast, but also tourists who want one last sightseeing adventure.

The company recommends arriving at least 15 minutes before takeoff; I got there with 20 to spare to enjoy the perks. A friendly receptionist checked me in, took my luggage and gave me a colored wristband to indicate my flight group. There was no metal detector or TSA staff to flag my liquids. Then I was free to enjoy the 1960s-themed lounge.

The place felt designed with Instagram in mind: Andy Warhol prints, neon acrylic tables, mushroom lamps. The furniture — such as tulip chairs and leather bar stools — looked the part but felt flimsy, more Temu than TWA Hotel.

While my husband texted from crawling Brooklyn traffic, I sat at the bar and ordered a glass of complimentary white wine. There was Acqua Panna water and packaged snacks such as a maple blueberry protein bar and "skinny dipped" dark-chocolate-covered almonds.

## The ride

Blade has a reputation for being on time; my chopper-mate told me that he has taken the airport service 50 times and that it had never been late before. But that afternoon we ran 15 minutes behind schedule.

Air traffic can cause delays. So can weather. Blade will cancel flights if the weather is deemed unsafe or heavy turbulence is expected and will take you to the airport by car instead.

It wasn't clear why we were held up, but the staff apologized for the delay. Soon, a helicopter landed in front of the lounge window and our wristband group was called. We filed into a line by the door, were given instructions on how to board and were escorted to the aircraft. I must have missed dibs on the shotgun seat next to the pilot and was slotted in the main cabin with two other fliers.

## The ethical dilemma

The helicopter took off after a quick safety briefing from the pilot, who was wearing a hoodie, and in seconds we were hovering over the city skyline.

Every passenger had their phone out at some point to capture the splendor. It felt surreal and a little nauseating — mostly because I'm prone to motion sickness, but also metaphorically. As we descended, and the skyscrapers gave way to houses, I thought about the people living below. The helicopter was incredibly loud; it had to be annoying to hear us screech past.

The luxury is controversial. Nonessential helicopter traffic has been increasing for years, and residents living under the flight paths are filing evermore noise complaints. The New York-area nonprofit Stop the Chop also cites high carbon emissions among its primary reasons for a push to ban nonessential flights over the region.

"Taking a helicopter ride is definitely more environmentally damaging than an hour-long Uber ride," Peter DeCarlo, an associate professor of environmental health and engineering at Johns Hopkins University who studies atmospheric air pollution, told me in an email.

Blade says it plans to transition to cleaner, quieter electric vertical aircraft once they're available in the coming years.

There wasn't much time for my guilt to fester; we were on the

ground about nine minutes (not five) after liftoff.

In addition to the potential for small delays, travelers should factor in that Blade can't drop you off at the curb like a taxi. Once we landed on the JFK chopper tarmac, a Blade attendant wheeled our bags on a luggage trolley through a small lobby and out to a parking lot, where chauffeurs were waiting to drive us to our respective airport terminals.

I hopped in an SUV but was told that I could have paid to upgrade to a Mercedes-Maybach. Depending on airport traffic, the ride can add another five to 10 minutes to your ETA.

## The takeaway

My driver told me that celebrities, like musicians and National Basketball Association players, are fans of Blade. If it wasn't for the noise and environmental concerns, I'd be a fan of Blade, too. (Okay, I didn't love being queasy afterward, either.) Once the company goes electric and I win the lottery, maybe we'll talk.

In the end, my husband got the last laugh. Factoring in the 20 minutes it took me to get to the Blade helipad, my lounge time and the flight, he actually beat me to JFK in his hour-long Uber ride, arriving with enough padding to get some Shake Shack and relax.

## TRAVEL

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The sun sets behind Mars Cheese Castle in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in early November. Today's castle is Mars's third iteration.

PHOTOS BY KATHLEEN HINKEL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

# A literal castle full of cheese? Only in Wisconsin.

## CHEESE CASTLE FROM F1

walking away with bags of treats they didn't know they wanted, much like Buc-ee's, Wawa and Sheetz, the convenience stores that have attracted regional fanaticism.

But Mars Cheese Castle isn't an extravagant display or a corporate franchise. It's a store that has become a symbol for all things Wisconsin.

### 1,000 pounds of cheese curds

Enter the Cheese Castle, and the first thing you'll spot will probably be a display of fresh curds, bagged, with several flavors to choose from. You'll see full-size shopping carts, too, and perhaps a woman pushing one, sipping a light beer out of a plastic cup, deciding between several flavors of jams. Or a group of kids in paper crowns — picked up at the sandwich counter and colored over lunch — celebrating a birthday.

There are wooden cutting boards shaped like footballs and the state of Wisconsin, a full selection of candy, a funnel cake kit, pasta, relish, a mix for beer cheese soup, plush pigs, cows and sheep, clear plastic pouches screen-printed with the Bears' and Packers' logos, cult-favorite New Glarus beer, Christmas ornaments, T-shirts, tortilla chips, pastries, artisan sodas, bumper stickers and even Cheese Castle-branded wine. Some of the non-cheese bestsellers include kringles — a European pastry that's popular in Wisconsin — and brats, according to Broussard and her cousin Michael Ventura, who's also in management at Mars.

The place is a palace of gluttony, and that's before you even consider the cheese, which is scattered throughout the castle's several rooms but concentrated in one that's equipped with coolers and a massive counter, where an employee hands out samples of anything to anyone who asks. (The bulk of Mars's meat products are in this room, too.)

Almost everything is produced in Wisconsin, and the selection is ever-changing. Each week, Mars sells about 1,000 pounds of cheese curds, but there are plenty of less-conventional dairy products, too — like the unique spreadable cheddar and a chocolate cheese, which Broussard cites as a good reason for Mars's liberal sampling policy. Road trippers are going to come across things they've never seen before, and the best way for someone to wind up with an unexpected package of novelty lactose in their car is to let them take a bite mid-visit.

"This can be a great thing or a bad thing," joked Sandra Rivera,



Victor Robin, left, stocks cheese while customers shop at Mars Cheese Castle.



Jackson Humulock and Sasha Stronczek wrap cheeses on Nov. 7. "I think people don't know what to expect when they come in," said Natalie Broussard, the granddaughter of the Cheese Castle's founders who now helps run the business.

43. Rivera and her sister were on a road trip in July 2023, visiting ballparks between her home in Philadelphia and Milwaukee. Heading north from Chicago, they spotted the Cheese Castle's roadside sign, quickly Googled the name and exited the interstate.

"I walked into heaven," Rivera said, and she sampled cheese after cheese, purchasing almost everything she tasted — along with bread, wine, cookies, spreads and jerky.

### Run by locals, loved by visitors

On a Thursday afternoon in late October, I left Mars with cheese bread, a bag of fresh white-cheddar curds and a six-pack of Spotted Cow, the cult-favorite farmhouse ale sold only in Wisconsin. Then I hauled all of it to the rental car drop-off and onto the Chicago train, balanced precariously on my suitcase during rush hour.

Over the course of the weekend, I snacked on the sharp, salty curds like popcorn. The loaf of cheese bread, a Mars specialty, contained more than a quarter-pound of Wisconsin cheddar but wasn't overly heavy and was great toasted. And I considered packing the leftover bottles of Spotted Cow in my suitcase for the flight home but decided against it.

Like my haul, most of the food and drink and Wisconsin paraphernalia sold at the Cheese Castle is bound for far beyond Kenosha. Broussard and Ventura said locals make up only a small portion of their business. Broussard said she has met people in Europe who are familiar with the Cheese Castle, but she knows plenty of Kenosha natives who have never visited.

Much of the traffic through the castle instead comes from Midwestern road trippers, and, in July, the flow of shoppers included a crew from CBS News who stopped during the Republican National Convention to poll voters about their confidence in the candidates.

But Mars hasn't always drawn its business from beyond Kenosha. The Cheese Castle opened in 1947 as an inconspicuous shop situated near the intersection of two small state highways. Founders Mario and Martha Ventura called the business Mars because it sounded a bit like both of their first names. At first, they sold only cheese and sausage, mostly to locals.

Today's castle is Mars's third iteration. The first storefront burned in the late '50s, and, when they rebuilt, the Venturas leaned into the castle branding. That building was white, with a stone trim and purplish-red decorative

SEE CHEESE CASTLE ON F4



# Beloved highway stop is a fortress for more than dairy

CHEESE CASTLE FROM F3

turrets affixed to the facade — distinctive enough to be a curiosity but discreet compared with the spectacle of today.

To understand how Mars came to look the way it does — and to attract so many travelers, and to sell so many flavors of cheese — you have to understand the interstate that runs alongside it.

**How the Cheese Castle turned regal**

When the interstate came to Wisconsin in the '60s, the Venturas worried construction might doom their business. But a friend told Mario Ventura about California, where freeways dotted the landscape and roadside businesses thrived. Mario made a trip west to see for himself, and when he returned home, he vowed to hold out.

Within a few years, I-94 brought booming business along its path, and the Venturas diversified. They ran a gas station for a while and a motel, too. In the '70s, Mars was doing so well that Mario Ventura made a quiet investment: He bought a parcel of farmland behind the store and did nothing with it.

His foresight paid off. In 2010, the Wisconsin Department of Transportation began the massive task of widening I-94, which required paving right over the Cheese Castle. Again, the family plotted to rebuild, this time on that vacant land. Business was booming, so adding space made sense, but the Venturas hadn't considered how fully they could



The Mars Cheese Castle sign in Kenosha, Wisconsin, is a familiar sight for travelers driving on Interstate 94.

PHOTOS BY KATHLEEN HINKEL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

embrace their store's wonky name.

The architect they hired did, though — pitching them on a palace with custom tan bricks inspired by the castles of Europe.

"We were like, 'Ha ha, you know, that's great,'" Michael Ventura said. "And I'm thinking to myself, like, 'There's only so much you can do. He's kind of [talking] it up a bit.' I thought it was a joke."

But the family soon recognized that a true castle could turn even more heads in passing cars, and when the new castle opened in 2011, it also sparked headlines across the region. "Finally, the store befits its regal moniker," the Chicago Tribune wrote.

These days, the castle is as striking as its 180-foot sign, which is technically taller than state law allows but was grandfathered in under a state budget provision. Before the rebuild, Phil Wehrmeister, a former Mars general manager, had referred to the sign as the store's "lifeline to the road," but these days, the rest of the operation matches its titanic scale.

A few miles south, a "Welcome to Wisconsin" sign sits on a flat patch of grass, made all but obsolete by the behemoth up the road.

"Being in Kenosha, right across the border, we like to consider ourselves ambassadors," Ventura said — ambassadors for their state and, Broussard added, for "the things that you can only get in Wisconsin."

Joan Niesen is a food writer based in D.C. Follow her Grazing newsletter at [joanniesen.substack.com](mailto:joanniesen.substack.com).



"I see new faces every day," said Lisa Stefanic, who bartends at the Cheese Castle's tavern.



Members of the Great Lakes Christian College women's volleyball team check out on Nov. 7.



"I've always wanted to stop here," Rebecca Kahn said after having her photo taken by Zev Woskoff. They often travel to Wisconsin from Pittsburgh to see family, but this was their first time at Mars.



# Families caring for a person with dementia need a vacation, too

BY REBECCA POWERS

In September, Lyle and Geraldine “Jerry” Isenor watched the harvest supermoon sink behind the rooftops of Sandnes, Norway, from their room aboard a cruise ship.

The Isenors, a couple in their 60s living in British Columbia, have been to French Polynesia, New Zealand, the Caribbean and Africa, but these days their trips are as much about self-care as seeing the world. Jerry was diagnosed five years ago with Alzheimer’s disease, and Lyle is her main caregiver.

Like Lyle, more than 11 million Americans provide unpaid care for a family member or friend with Alzheimer’s or other dementia, a contribution to the nation valued at nearly \$350 billion, according to a 2024 annual report published by the Alzheimer’s Association. The work is often stressful and time-consuming, and 60 percent of the report’s survey respondents say the U.S. health-care system is not effectively helping patients and their families navigate dementia care. Vacation time, let alone travel, is often not possible, but some options are starting to appear.

Reflecting on his experience taking a customized cruise for dementia patients and their families, Lyle, who previously worried about Jerry wandering off when they traveled alone, wrote via email, “The benefit for me as a care partner is that I get to experience travel at all.”

### Nurses and groups start to create travel options

Families in the United States lack options for dementia-friendly travel compared with those in other countries.

“It’s such a different paradigm” said Jan Dougherty, a dementia nurse in Arizona who is CEO of TravAlz, an organization that offers advice about such travel options. “They put money in care. We put money in pharma.”

For example, a British nonprofit organization called Dementia Adventure offers what it describes as “small-group holidays and individually tailored breaks for people living with dementia and the people who care for them.” Its services include financial aid, 24-hour support, and planning that includes locations and meals.



ILLUSTRATION BY LILY PADULA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Those yearning for a fuller life with Alzheimer’s or other dementia represent a diverse cross section of Americans, as the Alzheimer’s Association report detailed. Twice as many Black adults receive a diagnosis as White adults; Latino adults are 1.5 times as likely to be diagnosed as White adults. The total population of people diagnosed with Alzheimer’s alone is expected to double by 2060, to nearly 14 million people, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

“What’s needed are entrepreneurs who care about dementia, who are passionate about creating travel opportunities to support this growing group of people,” Dougherty said. “Most people living with dementia will have up to three to five years, or more, of travel experiences if we focus on the care side to help them.”

To help make that happen, she runs a travel-companion certification program with Carol Giuliani, a senior travel companion. Because medications can prolong dementia’s early stages, Dougherty said, there is more opportunity to live life.

“That’s part of care — what’s meaningful for the person in the moment,” she said.

Like Dougherty, Kathy Speer Shoaf, owner of Elite Cruises and Vacations in Hobart, Indiana — and the organizer of the cruise the Isenors took — brings a nursing perspective to her custom-travel concept. Earlier in her career, she was a director of nursing in home health, hospice and senior living. “It just seemed sad to me that the highlight of their day was bingo,” Shoaf said. “We need to provide care or support [so care companions] aren’t suffocating with exhaustion.”

The cost of providing additional companion support, in addition to the price of the cruise, is \$190 per day per person. The extra fee includes trip planning and embarkation-day assistance, a registered nurse on call 24 hours a day, social workers, dementia-experienced caregivers and a lifeguard for shore

visits to the beach. When caregivers take time for themselves, Elite’s staffers monitor clients and provide activities such as music or art therapy, games and strolls.

For added safety, travelers wear identification lanyards, which also may contain tracking devices if wandering is an issue. “We strongly encourage caregivers to place tracking devices in these lanyards, in pockets, or even under shoe inserts,” Shoaf said.

Until more dementia-friendly travel options are available, caretakers have developed a few workarounds. Brenda Roberts, 67, is executive director of the National Council of Dementia Minds, and she travels with her husband, Mark, 72, who was diagnosed with vascular dementia 10 years ago. She books accommodations with roomy bathroom counters where she can set out the morning routine, for instance. Mark also carries a card that bears a photo of him with his Bichon Frisé service dog, Sophie. It reads: “Please be patient with me. I have dementia and may

take longer to make a decision, need you to repeat yourself, have difficulty following instructions or forget what you told me.”

### Airports and traveling with Alzheimer’s

Airports, with their many signs, lines and tasks to manage before boarding, are hyperstimulating places. Administrators are beginning to implement changes such as moderating sights and sounds and streamlining terminal logistics.

One impediment is that airports are not nationally uniform, says Sara Barsel, a Minnesota-based volunteer organizer with Dementia-Friendly Airports Working Group. “A handful of airports are trying really hard,” Barsel said, instituting family restrooms, for example, which allow caregivers to assist their companions.

Some airports use the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower — typically displayed on a lanyard — which is the internationally recognized symbol to indicate that the wearer has an invisible disability and may

need assistance, as well as extra time or patience. The program originated in 2016 at London Gatwick Airport. Today, about 240 airports around the world, including about 80 in the United States, participate in the sunflower program.

Elizabeth Edgerly, a PhD clinical psychologist and senior director of community programs and services for the Alzheimer’s Association, witnessed an example of the need for improved travel accommodations on a recent flight to D.C. on which a caregiver had been seated in a different row from her spouse, who clearly had dementia.

“What a difference a seat made,” Edgerly said, describing the scene after someone switched places with the caregiver.

### Travel is good medicine

On a sunny Sunday in suburban Detroit, Annette and Barry Kaufman — ages 80 and 84, and married for 58 years — sat in their condo dining room recalling a recent cruise to Alaska. Barry’s walker, nicknamed Danica after the race car driver Danica Patrick (in a wink to his less-than-speedy mobility), was parked nearby. Barry has Lewy body dementia, one of the most common forms of dementia.

After he was diagnosed 16 years ago, the couple sold their full-size camper and embraced touring by bus. But on their last motor-coach trip, the stops for sightseeing involved too much walking.

“I Googled ‘dementia-friendly travel’ and the cruise was the only thing that came up,” Annette said. The cruise, with its staff-to-guest ratio of 1 to 3, allowed the Kaufmans to spend time apart.

“We don’t have the ability to be apart [in daily life],” Annette said. “It was relaxing.”

Barry appreciated the respect he received. “They didn’t treat us like people with cognitive issues,” Barry said. “I had a buddy, Jim, a member of the staff; he was very human.”

Annette said the cruise was life-changing for her. “As the demands for caregiving increased over 16 years, it’s easy to not realize the toll it is taking on you. I was able to experience a level of calm that I had not had in a very long time.”

Rebecca Powers is a writer based in Detroit. Her website is [rebeccapowers.com](http://rebeccapowers.com).

# Looking for an escape? These 11 cabin destinations are your key to relaxation.

BY NATALIE B. COMPTON, HANNAH SAMPSON AND ANDREA SACHS

The year is almost over, and you’re exhausted. You’ve done the overseas adventure, the city getaway, the wellness weekend. You’re preparing for the holiday crush.

But now it’s put-your-feet-up, grab-a-blanket, sip-mulled-wine season. And where better to do that than in a warm cocoon, close to nature and as far from other people as you like?

Cozy cabins — or, in these cases, tree houses, yurts or even bourbon barrels — don’t require much from you. Sure, you can venture out into the cold for a hike. You can explore nearby shops and restaurants. But you can also zone out completely and stare at the fireplace.

It’s been a long year. No one would blame you. If you’re looking for quiet contemplation or a refreshing recharge, here are 11 spots to warm the soul.

### Notre-Dame-de-la-Merci, Quebec

To really appreciate the warmth of Kabania, an eco-lodge in the woody neck of Quebec’s Lanaudière region, you need to feel a little nip on your nose and toes. Kabania’s nine cabins-on-stilts — an upgrade of your childhood tree house, from about \$90 a night for two people — and the larger Kaboum, which can sleep up to six non-acrophobics, are within snowshoeing distance of Ouareau Forest Regional Park, which is just across the bridge. The park also offers miles of cross-country skiing trails and snow tubing.

Once you’ve reached an optimum level of chill, thaw by the wood-burning stove in your solar-powered cabin or around the fire pit in the communal area, which also includes a kitchen and washrooms. Bring your own bedding, or rent a sleeping bag for deep cocooning. Additional, unheated cabanitas are open seasonally, from May through Canadian Thanksgiving in October.

### Sonoma County, California

Wildhaven Sonoma has quite a spread: 10 acres along the Russian River in the Alexander Valley, a wine-producing region with more than 40 wineries and award-winning cabernets. Visitors can choose between upscale tents with heated-mattress-pad-



KABANIA

Kabania, an eco-lodge in Quebec’s Lanaudière region.

ded beds and 180-square-foot cabins boasting skylights and glass doors that invite nature — without the bugs — inside. Cabins start at about \$250 in the winter; tents are roughly \$100 less.

Both accommodation styles come with private fire pits and porches, where you can sip your morning coffee and tea (free) and happy-hour wine (available at the camp store). In the true camping spirit, bathrooms and barbecuing are communal. Earlier this year, Wildhaven opened a sister glamping site near Yosemite National Park, with a dozen cabins that resemble rustic tiny houses.

### Eureka Springs, Arkansas

At Sugar Ridge Resort, you don’t have to choose between land and water, nature or civilization. You get all four: the Ozark Mountains, Beaver Lake, 75 acres of green space and the nearby Victorian resort town of Eureka Springs. The Beaver Lake Arkansas Cabins are cozy enough for couples and spacious enough to fit a blended family or rugby team. The wall-to-wall cedar furnishings will make you feel as if you had fallen through the tree hollow of the Keebler elves’ home.

The lodgings, which start at \$169 a night, also come with such cozy perks as wood-burning fireplaces, porch swings and hot tubs with jets. For a more healing soak, take a dip in the thermal waters that transformed the

area into a wellness pilgrimage site. The town’s Palace Bath House has been soothing achy bodies since 1901 with elixirs from the Magnetic, Sweet and Harding springs.

### Santa Barbara, California

The coastline north of Santa Barbara is decorated with campsites and state parks. But don’t get dazzled by the twinkling Pacific along the 101 and miss your turn-off for El Capitan Canyon, a 350-acre wilderness resort with cedar cabins, yurts and a backdrop of the Santa Ynez Mountains.

Travel planner Kara Kassuba loves the property’s simple, rustic charm and its appeal for families and groups. Guests can bring their own food to cook or grill, and because there aren’t TVs or typical hotel comforts, it feels like a true retreat, she said. Don’t worry: There’s plenty to do. El Capitan Canyon rents out complementary beach cruisers, hosts wine tastings and concerts, and has a heated pool.

### Saratoga, Wyoming

There’s getting away, and then there’s 30,000-acre-ranch-in-southern-Wyoming getting away. Travel adviser Brooke Tuchman is a fan of the all-inclusive Brush Creek Ranch, where Old West meets the 1 percent: Luxury log cabins will set you back a few thousand dollars a night. But, oh, what splendor.

Three and a half hours from Denver, or about an hour from the Laramie Regional Airport, Brush Creek Ranch has six different fly-fishing ponds; world-class dining, with a goat farm and creamery where they make cheese; and a spa and wellness center where you can unwind with yoga, sound baths and meditation. If Brush Creek is too extravagant for your style, Carbon County has more reasonable ranch resorts and cabins to choose from, such as the Medicine Bow Lodge and the Ten Mile Inn.

### Williamsburg, Michigan

Koti, a huddle of cabins in northern Michigan, translates to “home” in Finnish, but it is also a mindset similar to Denmark’s hygge. The 15 cabins here evoke a “peaceful and thoughtful” vibe by blending minimalist Scandinavian design (light wood, white walls) with Midwestern bonhomie (large decks for socializing, full kitchens). Arrayed along Acme Creek, the two- and three-bedroom lodgings (from mid-\$400s a night) come with living and dining spaces, a washer and dryer, and enormous windows that frame the wooded landscape. You can see starry nights without having to brave the cold, but if you prefer a total eclipse, the bedrooms are outfitted with blackout windows.

The property can arrange e-bike rentals, so guests can pedal to Lake Michigan’s Grand Traverse Bay or to Traverse City. When the snow starts falling, strap on a pair of skis and enjoy the Traverse Area Recreation Trail in true Nordic style.

### Marshall, North Carolina

Hurricane Helene left the Appalachian region reeling, not only from the immediate devastation but also from the lingering impact on livelihoods that count on tourism. While some parts of the area are still focused on repair, others are welcoming visitors to return — including the Mirror Hotel in Marshall, North Carolina, about 20 miles from Asheville.

Not actually a hotel in the traditional sense, the property is composed of two cabins covered in mirror-paneled walls. “When you walk up to them, you almost don’t see them,” said Mallory Dumond, travel adviser for Travelation. “You’re kind of hidden within nature.” Fans of the “invisible” cabin experience love watching sunsets from the deck, soaking in the hot tub, and enjoying the luxury of an on-site washer and dryer.

### Barnard, Vermont

Dumond’s spendier pick is a cozy option for travelers “looking for all the bells and whistles,” she said. Meet Twin Farms, a 300-acre estate south of Montpelier by the luxury brand Relais & Châteaux. The tree houses, cottages, lodge and main house all promise “top-notch service [and] all-inclusive, excellent dining,” Dumond said.

Twin Farms is home to the kind of autumnal outdoorsy activities you’d picture in the Green Mountain State. A pond on property invites canoeing. There’s archery and ax-throwing to bring out your inner lumberjack. (After all, you’re sleeping in a cabin.) Then there are the ultra-luxe touches, such as the Shou Sugi Ban House, a hot spring spa facing the forest.

### Lawrenceburg, Kentucky

Smack dab in Bourbon Country, Bourbon Barrel Retreats caters to connoisseurs who want to sip and sleep whiskey. The nine cabins, which run around \$250 a weeknight and more on weekends, are shaped like giant bourbon barrels that rest on their side, as if they drank one too many neat pours. Guests can choose between standard and premium

cabins. Both have soaring ceilings and curved walls that contain a king-size bed, a port-hole-like window, a bathroom, and a kitchenette with a microwave, coffee maker and fridge; the deluxe version comes with a private hot tub.

Tony Happeny, who owns the property with his wife, Christina, said a restaurant and tasting room are next on their to-do list. Till then, visitors can share Bourbon Trail tips and tales in an outdoor communal space kitted out with fire pits, grills and hammocks, for when your day of drinking draws to a close.

### Port Renfrew, British Columbia

On the rugged west coast of Vancouver Island, Wild Renfrew drops guests into the wild but provides them with a cushy landing. The “seaside cottages,” charming cabins on the water’s edge, come in more than a half-dozen configurations, such as a beachfront two-bedroom with a private stone fire pit, a penthouse with a personal hot tub, and a king suite with “yours and mine” soaker tubs. The rate, from about \$125 a night, includes starter firewood, beach access, and a front-row seat both to a parade of local fauna — including orcas, seals, otters and bald eagles — and to one of the area’s favorite pastimes: storm-watching.

Some of the accommodations feature cooking equipment, but, hey, it’s your vacation, so let the Renfrew Pub rustle up your meals and pour your microbrew.

### Gardiner, New York

When Tuchman hears “cozy cabin,” the first place that comes to mind is Wildflower Farms in New York’s Hudson Valley, just about a 90-minute drive from Manhattan. “It is truly just so magical,” she said of the luxury property, which is part of the Auberge Resorts Collection. Made up of 65 cabins and cottages, Wildflower Farms is a destination for food lovers: Its dining program sources ingredients from its nine-acre, on-site farm, and it also has a cooking school and farm education center.

Take part in the property’s many activities, such as wreath-making, or hunker down in your quarters by your mini-fireplace. The property even gives you a flashlight, lantern and a pair of gardening shears, Tuchman said, and encourages guests “to grab some foliage.”



# AI travel influencers are here. Human travelers hate it.

BY NATALIE B. COMPTON

Aitana jumps off a yacht in Ibiza. Ester gets cozy on a private jet. Nyah poses in Santorini. They're the smiling platonic ideal of the travel influencer: young, attractive, posting from exotic locales. But something's off in these Instagram posts, and it's not a heavy filter. None of the women are human. They're images generated by artificial intelligence.

AI image generators like Dall-E and Midjourney have made it easier than ever to create lifelike renderings of people, places and things. Over the past couple of years, users began churning out Facebook clickbait, glossy headshots and political deepfakes. Brands, tourism boards and tech-savvy opportunists followed, making synthetic travel influencers who share travel tips, selfies, clichéd musings and risqué bikini shots.

Some look like beautiful video game characters. Others are hyperrealistic and human-passing, unmasked only by the mention of "AI influencer" in their profile or the occasional #aitravelinfluencer hashtag.

But the ranks of AI travel influencers are growing. Their creators are calling their arrival an exciting new opportunity — a way to embrace new technology to reach a broader audience. Their detractors call it disturbing — threatening to cut real people out of real jobs, while providing questionable recommendations.

How can you trust a travel influencer who's never traveled?

## Das is nicht human

Emma introduces herself in front of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate, one of the most famous historic sites in Germany. She has straight blond hair, cut just above her shoulders.

"Hi, I am Emma," the video begins, the voice enunciating with a crisp British accent. "And I am the first AI influencer of Travel Destination Germany."

The movements of Emma's mouth would not pass a lip-



These AI-generated images obtained by The Washington Post show "Emma," at top, and "Sena Zaro," above. Both are artificial intelligence influencers with online presences.

reading test; they rearrange in a pixelated jerk. A car honks in the background, as if Emma were recording near the busy street shown in the background.

Germany's tourism board launched Emma on Oct. 17. Part travel influencer, part AI chatbot, "she" is on Instagram and the German National Tourist Board (GNTB) website, where people can ask "her" for travel advice.

Emma can instantly answer questions like, "What's Germany's best-kept travel secret?" (The Zugspitze region, the Danube Gorge, Hohenwarte Dam and Amrum island.) The program gets stumped with nuanced topics, like: "Is Germany safe for solo female travelers?"

"Please phrase the request a little bit differently," the chatbot replied, with a link to fill out a contact form. "Maybe we are talking past each other here? Find more infos about successful communication with me here."

In an email to The Washington Post, the German tourism board said that Emma was "part of our ongoing efforts to stay at the forefront of digital innovation in tourism" and to "ensure we're dynamically meeting the needs of the modern traveler."

Virtual influencers seem like a natural progression in the AI gold rush. Airlines already use AI for pricing and reservations. Hotels use it to streamline housekeeping. You can ask ChatGPT to plan a trip to D.C. — albeit with a few foibles.

Marketing expert Angeli Gianchandani, who teaches at New York University, sees the appeal for brands in adding virtual influencers, too.

"These AI influencers are quick, and they eliminate travel expenses, the accommodations, the talent fees," Gianchandani said. Plus, "you can have them on 24/7 across different platforms, across different regions and countries."

Emma, for example, "speaks" more than 20 languages.

In the hours after Emma's launch, social media commenters — who identified themselves as Germans, travel professionals and content creators — reacted sharply. The most common criticism was that people preferred to see the tourism board hire "real people" who could physically explore the country, instead of using a robotic substitute.

"When people plan trips, they want to know what they're actually going to experience," Christina Dubin, a human digital content producer living in Geneva, wrote in an email to The Post.

The GNTB says Emma wasn't created to replace human influencers. The organization said that it partnered with more than 100 influencers last year and that its relationship with content creators remains "fundamental" to the group's marketing strategy.

Kirstin Hertel-Dietrich, a tour guide in Würzburg, Germany, who was among the disappointed commenters, said she appreciates the tourism board trying to "move with the times." But she hopes it ends the program.

"In a world where you really have to be careful about fake news, fake images and fake voices, this is the worst possible way to promote digitization," Hertel-Dietrich said in an email.

## 'She's a traveler that wishes to inspire people'

Click on Sena Zaro's Instagram profile and you'll learn that she's a "Storyteller" who shares travel "tips and inspiration." Then, next to a robot head emoji,

you'll find out she's a mirage. What you won't read is that she's a marketing tool for a hotel brand — although her creators prefer to call her "the very first AI influencer in the hospitality industry."

Sena Zaro is a collaboration between Cenizaro Hotels & Resorts — whose core portfolio includes nine properties across Asia and Africa — and the AI consulting firm Bracai.

Using generative AI technology, Bracai creates images of Sena and shares them with "her" travel advice and videos (which are written and recorded by real people) from destinations Sena "visits" — destinations where Cenizaro has properties.

"She's a traveler that wishes to inspire people," Finn Christian Arctander, Bracai's Norwegian founder and CEO, said in an interview with The Post. "But apart from being inspirational, we also wish that she provides very good travel tips."

In a recent Instagram post with the location tag set to "Marrakech," Sena stands in a busy street, her hands tucked in the pockets of her wrinkled white slacks. Her low-plunging blouse matches her glossy onyx hair. The next slide of Sena's post shows a quote about Marrakesh that has been attributed to designer Yves Saint Laurent, albeit without the attribution.

Arctander says his team does "a lot of research" to create Sena's content. For the Marrakesh post, Arctander says it helped that he has been to the Moroccan city, and he works with locals to come up with travel tips.

The sites that made Sena's final Top 5 places to visit in Marrakesh included the city's main market, a square within that market, the city's most famous mosque and tombs, and a Cenizaro hotel.

## The ads behind the AI

If you're casually scrolling through Instagram, you could easily mistake Sena for a human. Bracai designed her to look as realistic as possible; it even made up her family tree. (Her "mother" is Chinese Indonesian, and her "father" is Tunisian, Arctander said.)

Many of her commenters seem to think she's real.

"Relax and enjoy!" one person wrote on her post "from" the Maldives. Then there are comments from other AI influencers; Arctander said his company is not behind such engagement, and is not sure what attracts AI or "bot" commenters.

Instagram gives users the option to add an AI label disclaimer to their posts, in the same location as a location tag or music credit. Instagram only displays one such label at a time, so if a post has two or three, the platform will rotate between them. When you tap to expand the AI info, Instagram displays a basic explanation that explains that the poster "added an AI label to this content | AI may have been used for a wide range of purposes, from photo retouching to generating entirely new content."

Instagram also has "Branded Content Policies" that require influencers to use a "paid partnership label" if a brand provides gifts or free products or services in a post. The policy is not strictly enforced; many influencers' posts forgo them.

Would an AI influencer be required to follow such policies? Does Sena need to disclose she's in a partnership with a hotel brand?

Meta, Instagram's parent company, did not respond to interview requests. Earlier this year, the company said in a press statement that it planned to start labeling AI-generated content.

Sena's early posts had neither paid partnership nor AI labels. As of last week, only a handful of her posts show an "AI info" tag. All of Emma's posts to date include the AI tag; most of their synthetic peers aren't as transparent.

Automatic labeling of content is complicated, said Claire Leibowicz, head of the AI and Media Integrity Program at the non-profit Partnership on AI coalition. Some people use AI tools to create images out of thin air. Others may use them to lightly edit an existing photo. If every image is flagged, the term "AI-generated" starts to lose its meaning," Leibowicz said.

Still, she said, more regulation is necessary.

"We need government to ultimately enforce or have accountability for some of these disclosures," she said.

Arctander said Bracai's intention isn't to trick anyone into thinking Sena is real, but he acknowledged that there's no mention of her being AI in each post or that she's affiliated with a hotel company. That's for the same reason a human influencer might not want to draw attention to their sponsored content: It would look too much like an ad.

"When you have an influencer that's sponsored by someone, it becomes very much directly marketing," Arctander said. "Whereas, for Sena, we're trying to make travel tips, we're trying to make inspirational content — although in those places where Cenizaro has establishments. And she's also staying there, and she's tagging them. So there is a relationship, but it's not completely clear."

## A dirtier secret

Followers of Emma may be influenced to travel to Germany. Followers of Sena may be influenced to stay in a Cenizaro hotel. What about Nyah, the AI who is "sun-kissed and loving every moment in beautiful Santorini?"

Click through the link on Nyah's Instagram profile and you'll find more links where you can spend real human money on gifts for the virtual influencer, or subscribe to her website, where she shares "intimate moments."

Entrepreneurs create virtual influencers using generative AI software, set the influencer up on Instagram or on adult sites such as OnlyFans, and have "your influencer" chat with customers, eventually earning money from them through photo sales or gifts. Build your influencer's brand up enough, and you can sell ads to companies that work with social media influencers.

Beyond enabling potential scams, Leibowicz said that unregulated AI-generated media carries "a really long list of potential harms," such as spreading dangerous propaganda or sexually abusive material. Its use also raises ethical questions, including about taking human employment and distorting beauty standards.

"It's very context-dependent, I think, which is what's tricky about this," Leibowicz said.

Both the German tourism board and Arctander say there's still room for human influencers as more virtual ones come online.

Globally, the creator economy is valued at more than \$200 billion.

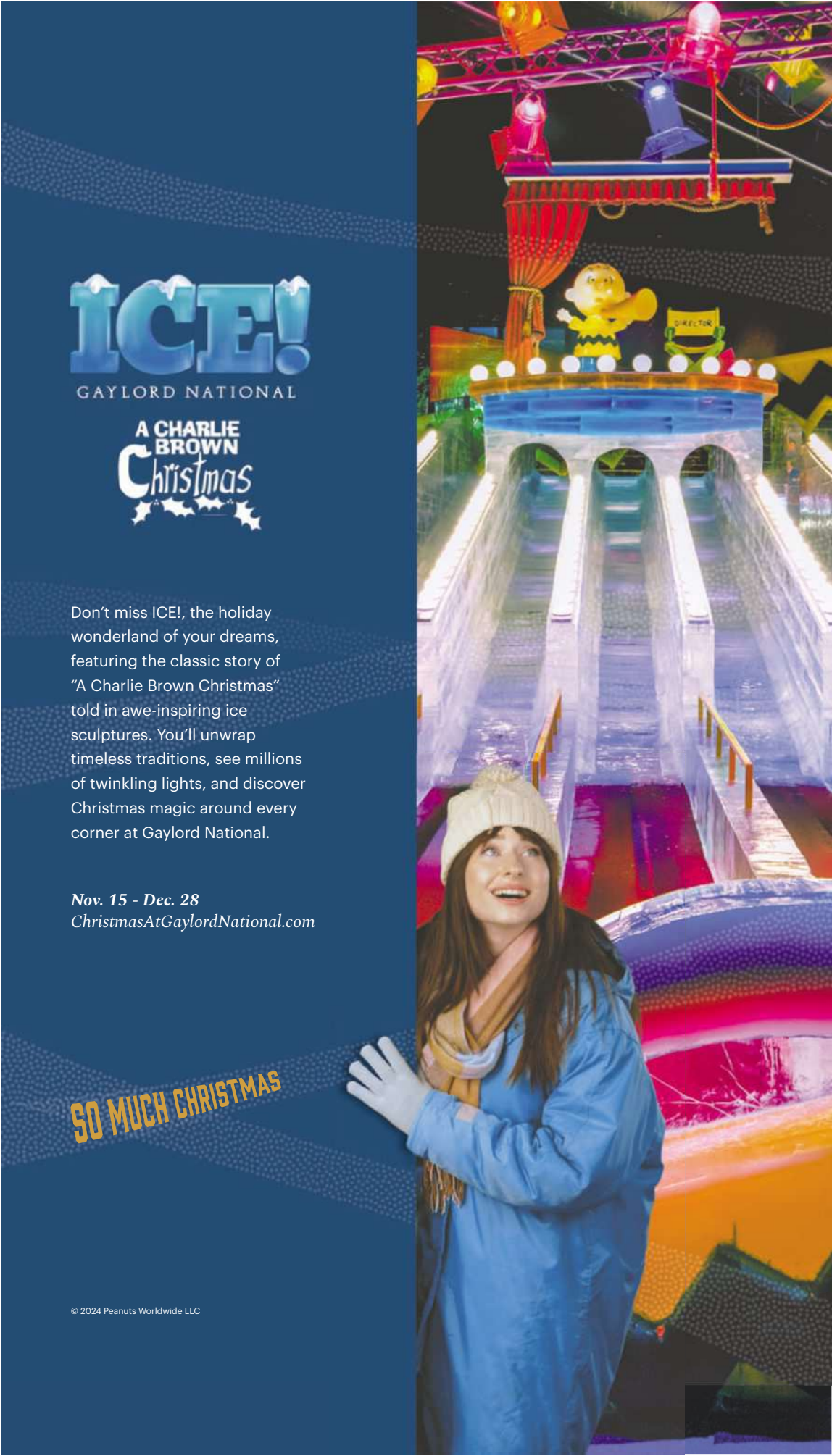
"I cannot think of a sector that doesn't use an influencer," said Cam Khaski Graglia, a content marketing manager for InfluencerCity, a platform that connects brands with (human) influencers based in Spain.

Khaski is not worried about an AI takeover of the industry. "People do not trust them entirely because they are not human and they have been built for a purpose," she said.

Real influencers can have ulterior motives, too, but Khaski argues that the tech industry is getting better at requiring influencers to identify when they have been gifted a product or service mentioned in their content. She hopes social media companies will require more regulations for AI as well.

After her turbulent October debut, Emma returned with a second post, on Nov. 8, to promote travel in Germany.

Among the positive commenters — "You go girl!!" the account wrote — was Sena Zaro.





The Washington Post

# BUSINESS

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2024 · SECTION G

Off the coast of Oregon, an ambitious experiment to buoy the nation’s renewable energy options. The key?

## Waves.

WILL MATSUDA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

\$100 million effort funded by the federal government seeks to unlock potential of untapped technology

BY SARAH RAZA IN NEWPORT, ORE.

**A**t a moment when large offshore wind projects are encountering public resistance, a nascent ocean industry is showing promise: wave energy. ¶ It’s coming to life in Newport, a rainy coastal town of nearly 10,500 people located a couple of hours south of Portland. Home to fishing operators and researchers, Newport attracts tourists and retirees with its famous aquarium, sprawling beaches and noisy sea lions. If you ask anyone at the lively bayfront about a wave energy project, they probably won’t know much about it. ¶ And yet, right off the coast, a \$100 million effort with funding from the Energy Department aims to convert the power of waves into energy, and help catch up to Europe in developing this new technology. The buoy-like contraptions, located

several miles offshore, will deliver up to 20 megawatts of energy — enough to power thousands of homes and businesses. ¶ As federal officials look to shift America’s electricity grid away from fossil fuels, they are seeking alternatives to solar and wind, which can deliver energy only when the sun shines or the wind blows. Waves — constant and full of untapped energy — have emerged as a promising option. And because wave energy projects are relatively unobtrusive, they are far less controversial than offshore wind, which has generated fierce opposition on both U.S. coasts. In September, the Biden administration announced that up to \$112.5 million would go toward the development of wave energy converters, the largest federal investment in marine energy.

SEE WAVES ON G3

**Waves near Newport, Oregon, photographed in October. Waves have emerged as a promising alternative to solar and wind, as federal officials look to shift the U.S. grid away from fossil fuels. The projects are also relatively unobtrusive, drawing less local opposition.**

### DEPARTMENT OF DATA

## The most fulfilling jobs may not be ones you expect

BY ANDREW VAN DAM

A priest, a lumberjack and an entrepreneur walk into a bar. Which one is happiest?

It’s definitely not the bartender — she’s doing one of the jobs least likely to give you satisfaction in life.

How in the world do we know that? Well, a while back, when we looked at the happiest jobs — shout-out to forestry — we considered how happy folks felt while at work. Outdoor jobs look awesome by that metric, dangerous as they often are in the long run, but readers kept reminding us that there’s more to a fulfilling job than how happy you are while doing it.

We didn’t have a stellar way to measure other feelings about work, but we kept our eye on an often-overlooked federal data provider: AmeriCorps. The independent agency, which CEO Michael D. Smith described to us as “bite-sized” but “punching well above our weight,” funds the Civic Engagement and Volunteering Supplement, part of the Census

SEE JOBS ON G4



ARMANDO L. SANCHEZ/SAGINAW NEWS/AP

**The scene at a Catholic church in Saginaw, Michigan. Job satisfaction is high among religious workers.**

## *In this season of giving, show your gratitude*



**Michelle Singletary**

THE COLOR OF MONEY

Some gestures are timeless, such as sending a thank-you note.

With the season of giving upon us, perhaps we need a reminder that gratitude shouldn’t be reduced to a text message full of emojis. A few years ago, a reader wondered whether she was right to feel slighted because she didn’t receive thank-you notes from some of her grandchildren after she sent them generous gifts. She had lived frugally and had ample resources in her senior years, so she decided to give each grandchild \$300 for

Christmas.

Some sent notes, but others failed to acknowledge they had received the money.

“I would appreciate your thoughts,” she said. “Should I discontinue the gifts or continue them with no expectations? Besides this issue, I think that I have a good relationship with my grandchildren.”

When I wrote about this grandmother’s complaint, one reader commented: “Gifts should be without strings. If not, they are commerce. This is just quid pro quo.”

Are we past the need to send a written thank-you note for gifts?

Here’s what you should do if this is an issue for you.

SEE SINGLETARY ON G2

### ENVIRONMENT

Donald Trump has few real ways to gut the Biden-era energy-efficiency rules for appliances. **G5**

### IRS

A government report has found that millions from tax refunds went toward paying hidden fees. **G5**



MICHELLE SINGLETARY

# You should always give thanks for a gift. But some people need to be reminded.

SINGLETARY FROM G1

**Talk it out**  
Don't compound the etiquette breach with a scolding. But it is appropriate to share your feelings.

Here's how you might open the conversation:  
“Honey, it bothers me when you don't send a letter or card after you receive a gift from me. I know I'm old-school, but getting a written acknowledgment is so nice. I treasure the notes.”

Also, explain that you'd like to know whether they received the gift. Postal mishaps and poor delivery might mean the gift never arrived.

Again, watch your tone. Approach it as a teaching moment, not a reprimand.

If the gifts went to young children or teens, enlist their parents' help to communicate how important it is to let people know you've received the gifts and value their thoughtfulness. Etiquette is taught, not genetically passed on.

**Give a not-so-subtle hint**

If straight talk doesn't work, be bold. The next gift could come with a box of thank-you cards.

Or send this column to someone who may forget or doesn't know a note of gratitude is appreciated.

**Choose your delivery**

Okay, maybe a handwritten note (or typed letter) or card isn't necessary. But let the person know you still would like a call or even a text message.

“I really don't appreciate snail mail anything,” one reader wrote. “It is one more thing to



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

throw out. Please text, email, or call me on the phone. I would much rather have a 10-minute chat with you than deal with a rote sentiment on a piece of paper.”

I don't mind if someone doesn't send a card, but at least call me.

**Stand your note-giving ground**  
Here's how some readers responded when they didn't get a thank-you note.

•“I sent a number of children's books to my niece's out-of-town baby shower and never got even an

acknowledgment that they were received until I asked,” one reader wrote. “I spent hours making hand-embroidered baby bibs for the children of two nieces and got no response from them. I no longer make baby gifts for their children.”

•“When I haven't gotten an

acknowledgment of a gift, I assume that it meant nothing to the recipient. I used to follow up out of concern that perhaps the gift didn't arrive, but this has never been the case. I feel sad about it but at the next occasion, I am sure to remember them in my thoughts and wish them all

the best in a card.”  
•“Disrespect me once, shame on you, disrespect me twice, shame on me. The first time, no thank you note/card gets a pass; the second time (there won't be a second time).”  
•“When the kids are little and don't say thank you in some way, I put it on the parents. When they are adults and don't say thanks, I take them off the gift list.”  
Love doesn't mean being taken for granted. You have every right to expect an acknowledgment of some kind. Even late is better than never.

**Generosity should be followed by gratitude**

I sought clarity on the issue by reading advice on this topic by Judith Martin, known to her readers as Miss Manners.

“I have heard that it is not proper to thank people for Christmas gifts,” a reader once wrote to her. “What is the official rule of etiquette about Christmas gifts?”

“Generosity and gratitude are permanently paired,” Martin wrote. “Those would-be etiquetteters who declare expressing thanks to be no longer required have done only half the job. They must also then abolish the custom of giving — or, what always turns out to be the case with them — accepting presents.”

If you have a personal finance question for Michelle, please call 1-855-ASK-POST (1-855-275-7678). Her award-winning column The Color of Money is syndicated by The Washington Post News Service and Syndicate and carried in dozens of newspapers.

# Does our boss need to protect us from a customer’s abusive online messages?



**Work Advice**

KARLA L. MILLER

comments or post spam, which are approved reasons for removing a user. They are just insulting, like going to someone else's question and posting a comment like: “A competent employee would fix this, but instead the company hired you, so nothing will happen.”

The company is big enough that we have a small HR department, but small enough that the founder can overrule any decision he disagrees with. He also promotes libertarian politics, and what I've heard about a prior incident makes me believe he would rather have the staff insulted than lose a customer. My question is: Does letting a customer insult your staff constitute a hostile work environment?

**Karla:** I'm not sure what your founder's politics have to do with allowing a troll to squat on his virtual premises and belch insults at his employees. Surely

even the most ardent defenders of individual liberty understand that freedom of speech doesn't mean freedom from consequences.

You're right that business owners, even those who believe the customer is always right, have obligations to provide a safe and discrimination-free work environment for their employees, including in interactions with customers. But for your local troll's behavior to meet the standards of contributing to a legally actionable hostile work environment, he would have to be targeting individuals on the basis of a protected class — sex, gender, faith, age, disability, national origin, etc. Since he's just clever enough to avoid crossing certain lines, my guess is that your employer is not legally required to do anything about him.

Then again, your founder is willing to remove users for posting spam — presumably not because of legal liability but because it's disruptive, interferes with other users' experience and pollutes your online community. So your company already has a precedent for banning certain kinds of discourse for reasons other than illegal discrimination and harassment. It would be simple enough to add “bullying”



ISTOCK

or “personal attacks” to the list of types of speech that will not be tolerated in your company's discussion boards and to at least allow the removal of those remarks, if not the users making them.

The question is whether your founder is willing to draw that

line. Perhaps he believes all engagement, even nongermane and negative commentary, means more eyeballs on his website and more value for his brand, regardless of the psychological and emotional cost to his employees and other users who just want to share

product reviews or troubleshoot a technical problem. (Ask the owner of the social media site X how that philosophy is panning out as users flee to other sites promising more restrictions on bots and trolls.)


But maybe your founder is simply unaware of the toll your

troll is taking on his employees' well-being. If you and colleagues band together to collect and present all instances of the troll's abusive comments, you may be able to persuade your founder to add anti-bullying restrictions and enforcement measures to your website's terms of service. Whether you engage HR in this effort is up to you; they may side with the founder, or they could be valuable allies in helping convince him that backing his people on this issue is important to his business goals.

If this collective effort fails, the standard way to deal with trolls who can't be externally blocked or removed is to leave their comments unaddressed, hanging in the ether like errant spitballs. Know that they're the offerings of someone with mental and emotional deficiencies — which have nothing to do with you or your performance.

**Reader query:** It's almost time for the year-end Work Advice roundup! If you have had a question answered in the column, we'd all love to hear how your situation turned out. Did you take the advice given, or take a different route? How did it go? Let me know at [karla.miller@washpost.com](mailto:karla.miller@washpost.com).

[karla.miller@washpost.com](mailto:karla.miller@washpost.com)



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# Retropolis

Stories of the past, rediscovered.

[washingtonpost.com/retropolis](https://www.washingtonpost.com/retropolis)

**The Washington Post**



S0129-6x2



# In Oregon, a potential ‘game changer for marine energy’

WAVES FROM G1

There is enough energy in the waves off America’s coasts to power one-third of all the nation’s homes, said Matthew Grosso, the Energy Department’s director of the water power technologies office.

Spanning 2.65 square miles and located seven miles out from shore, the PacWave test site is expected to be a “game changer for marine energy,” he said.

Under the water, subsea connectors are waiting to be plugged in like extension cords to wave energy converters developed by teams around the world. With deep-sea offshore testing, companies will see how much power these energy converters can produce, whether they can hold up in rough ocean conditions, what environmental impacts they might have and how the devices will interact with one another.

PacWave, a project of Oregon State University (OSU), represents a necessary step for commercializing wave energy, experts said.

“The research that’s been done in the past 15 years is reaching the point of what we can do just in labs or in theory,” Grosso said. “We’ve got to start testing some of this stuff out and see what works and what doesn’t.”

### How wave energy works

Unlike with other forms of renewable energy, engineers have not yet settled on a single model of wave energy converters. While wind turbines have converged into the three-blade turbine shape, many types of wave energy converters are in development, turning the motion of the wave into electrical energy in different ways.

You can feel the energy in the waves, when it laps at the shore or when it rocks your boat. Created by wind over the sea, it’s one part of the ecosystem of renewable energy that is available to us. But since waves don’t move in a linear motion, they are harder to capture energy from than the flow of wind over a turbine, for example.

One wave energy converter may not work in all environments, either — models can vary based on the depth of water and the conditions in which the converter will operate. Some use rotating cylinders; some are buoys that move up and down with the waves; others look like snakes with joints that move when waves roll through.

But all of these devices use the oscillating or orbital motion of a wave to generate an electrical current, said PacWave Chief Scientist Burke Hales, in the same way that turbines use rotations to generate a current.

With four berths, the site can host devices by multiple developers at once. The cables carrying the electricity are buried under the seafloor, running 12 miles diagonal to the shoreline to avoid a rocky reef. On land, an operating site measures the energy output and sends the energy to the Central Lincoln power utility.

Because no wave energy converters are plugged in yet, there is still a clear view of the horizon from Newport’s beaches. But even the larger devices are unlikely to be visible to the naked eye once they are there in the new year.

### Coexisting with fisheries

The PacWave site sits where crabbers set out their pots to catch Dungeness crab, one of the West Coast’s most important seafood species. And yet, unlike an offshore wind project a hundred miles down the coast that sparked strong opposition, most residents are either unaware of the wave energy project or support it. That the project is limited, and unlikely to spur commercial activity offshore that could damage the town’s fishing economy, has helped its cause.

When deciding where to locate the project, Newport won out for its proximity to OSU’s main campus in Corvallis and the local fishing fleet’s openness to the idea. The town also hosts the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration’s Marine Operations Center for the Pacific, which has its own research fleet.

PacWave also brought the promise of jobs, said Belinda Batten, who conducted outreach for PacWave when she directed the Energy Department’s Northwest National Marine Renewable Energy Center. Many here remember how NOAA’s move to Newport in 2011 created employment opportunities.

Perhaps most importantly, OSU already had a strong relationship with the community given the marine center in town,



PHOTOS BY WILL MATSUDA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The PacWave utility collection and monitoring facility, which will measure the energy output from the test site. PacWave Director Dan Hellin at Driftwood Beach, where the project’s cables come ashore. The test site is located seven miles out from shore. Excess cables at the monitoring facility. Cables connecting the wave energy converters to the facility on land are placed underneath the seafloor.**

according to Charlie Plybon, who lives in Newport and is the Oregon senior policy manager for the nonprofit Surfrider Foundation.

It took years of outreach and many town hall meetings for Batten, who now serves as a senior adviser to the OSU provost, and Kaety Jacobson, Lincoln County commissioner and a fisherman’s daughter, to cement their trust with the community. When they assembled some fleet members to decide on the site, it took all of 10 minutes for the crabbers to draw a plot on a map of the ocean for a location that

could work for everyone involved.

That area was important fishing grounds for the fleet, said crabber Bob Eder. In his button-down shirt and sneakers, Eder knows he doesn’t look like a stereotypical fisherman, but he’s one of the most respected crabbers in the fleet and still goes out in the waters every season at the age of 73. The PacWave site could represent a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the fleet every crabbing season, he said. On the navigation system in his boat, he pointed to a map that showed he had previously



crabbed in the area that was now off limits.

But the operators agreed to give it up for the sake of the experiment.

Eder, a representative of the fishing community during the process, said the agreement with OSU was a show of goodwill from the fishing community, whose members care about the environment and want to preserve their livelihood.

Climate change “definitely affects those of us whose work is directly involved with the environment,” he said. “And so every fishery is at an environmental risk.”

### Where wave energy could thrive

In states like Oregon, where an abundance of renewable energy has lowered the price of electrici-

ty to around 3½ cents per kilowatt hour, wave energy isn’t a competitive option. The first large-scale commercial wave energy project, by contrast, is expected to produce electricity costing 12 to 47 cents per kilowatt hour.

But in small, remote communities that depend on more expensive diesel fuel, wave power could ease energy woes.

“There’s remote communities in Alaska where everyone is running on diesel generators, they’re not on the grid, they have no electrical system,” said PacWave Director Dan Hellin.

The wave industry first has to overcome several challenges. The consensus in the industry is that wave energy’s development is 20 years behind that of wind. But Tim Ramsey, the Energy Department’s marine energy program manager, pointed out that wind began to take off at that point, in the early 2000s.

In addition, putting something into offshore waters usually requires extensive federal permitting, which can take years. That’s why this test site is important for developers — PacWave’s operation offers a site that has already earned the necessary approvals.

For wave energy to be economically viable, developers need to lower its cost. Technological advancements can help, and just as solar and wind energy have received government subsidies, federal support could help get wave energy off the ground.

Members of the Newport fishing fleet — even those who aren’t fans of the project — have hope that this renewable energy offers possibilities.

Crabber Bob Kemp, 75, said he isn’t thrilled that he won’t be able to fish for crab in that part of the ocean anymore, but he’s counting on the researchers to make good use of the space they have taken.

“I want to make sure the project has some kind of pressure on it to keep going and not just [move on] like a contractor moves on to a new house,” Kemp said. “I want them to stay on that.”



**LEFT: A subsea connector at PacWave’s utility connection and monitoring facility. RIGHT: Workers wire the switch gear at the facility.**



DEPARTMENT OF DATA

# Measuring the nonfinancial benefits of Americans’ jobs

JOBS FROM G1

Bureau’s Current Population Survey.

True data aficionados may remember the CEV as the source we used to find that Boston and Philadelphia are among the nation’s friendliest cities (yes, we were stunned, too). In 2021 and in 2023, the researchers behind the CEV asked whether you agree or disagree with these four statements:

- I am proud to be working for my employer.
- My main satisfaction in life comes from work.
- My workplace contributes to the community.
- I contribute to the community through my work.

The two years of surveys give us enough responses to start doing some serious analysis — or, in the grand tradition of this column, some less-than-serious analysis.

The questions may sound subjective compared with the usual Census Bureau fare, but they’re the next big step in a slow-building but snowballing academic effort to better measure the non-pecuniary benefits we get from our jobs. As the luckiest Americans worry less about their basic needs, more of us are seeking jobs with a moral or social mission.

“As traditional third places where Americans engage with their community are waning,” said Smith, the AmeriCorps CEO, “it’s great to see that workplaces are creating a space where employees can put their values into action.”

For better or worse, this shift has blurred the boundary between professional and civic life.

“There is this expectation or this desire for people to find meaning in the work that they’re doing and feeling like it contributes to some greater good,” AmeriCorps research and evaluation director Mary Morris-Hyde told us. Americans are more and more interested in working “for a place that gives them time and respects and encourages and wants them to be good citizens in their community.”

And — as your local newspaper reporter or AmeriCorps staffer could probably tell you — having a job that allows you to fight the good fight while on the clock may be worth forgoing a better paycheck elsewhere. But who gets to do these jobs?

The basic demographic outlines are easy to draw. As a rule, you feel better about your job as you get older. Presumably it’s some mix of people who love their work delaying retirement, people job-hopping until they find meaningful employment, and people learning to love whatever hand they’ve been dealt.

Most measures of satisfaction also rise with education, often quite sharply. Someone with a graduate degree is twice as likely as a high school dropout to strongly agree their workplace contributes to the community. There’s one exception: More-educated folks are actually a bit less likely to strongly agree that work is their main satisfaction in life.

But demographics aren’t the main event. As you probably guessed, much of our job satisfaction depends not on who we are, but on what job we’re doing. In that, we see a separation in the questions about personal satisfaction and the questions about contributing to the community.

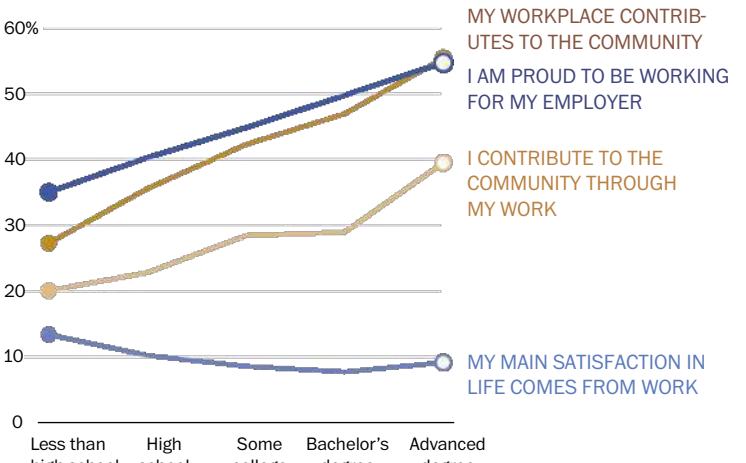
The workers most likely to say they are proud to be working for their employer and that they gain satisfaction from work are — surprise! — the self-employed. The self-employed who are incorporated — a group that often includes small-business owners — are almost twice as likely as private-sector, for-profit workers to strongly profess pride in their employer.

Government and nonprofit workers fall somewhere in the middle on those questions. But they rank at the very top on “My workplace contributes to the community” and “I contribute to the community through my work.” Local government workers, who include teachers, take the top spot for strong agreement on both, followed by nonprofit workers. Private-sector, for-profit workers again lag behind.

The jobs that do worse on these measures tend to be in manufacturing or other blue-collar production and extraction jobs, or at the lower-paid end of the service sector. Folks in food services (e.g., bartenders and food prep), janitorial roles and landscaping, and personal services (e.g., barbershops, laundry and hotels) all struggle to find

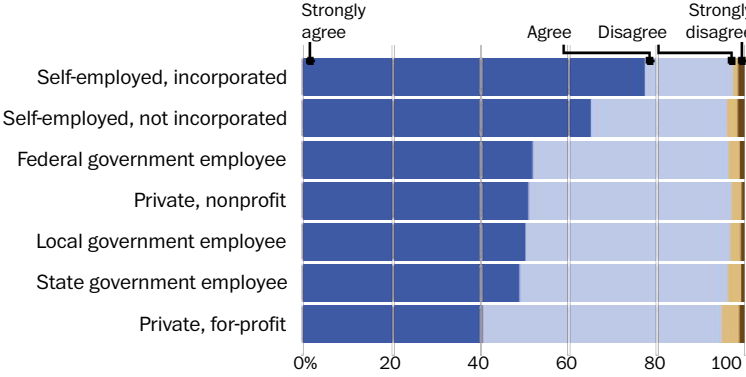
## More-educated folks — and their older colleagues — tend to be more fulfilled at work, at least by most measures

Share who strongly agree with the following statements



## Not surprisingly, the vast majority of self-employed workers strongly agree that they’re proud of their employer

I AM PROUD TO BE WORKING FOR MY EMPLOYER



I CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMUNITY THROUGH MY WORK



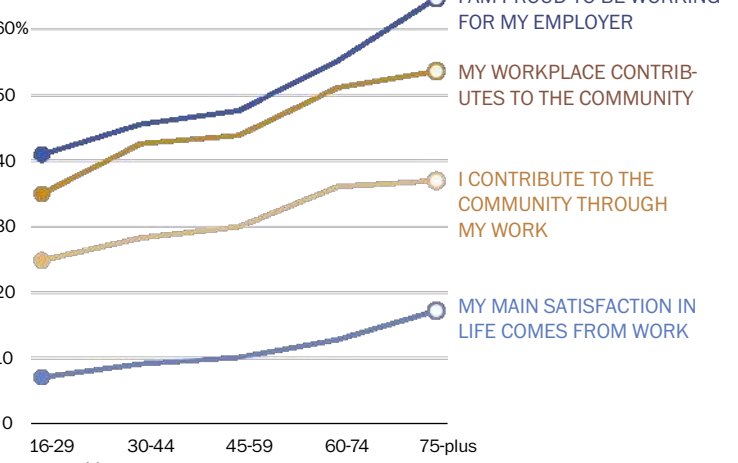
## The most fulfilling occupations tend to be in community and social services, a group that includes clergy

Share who strongly agree with each question

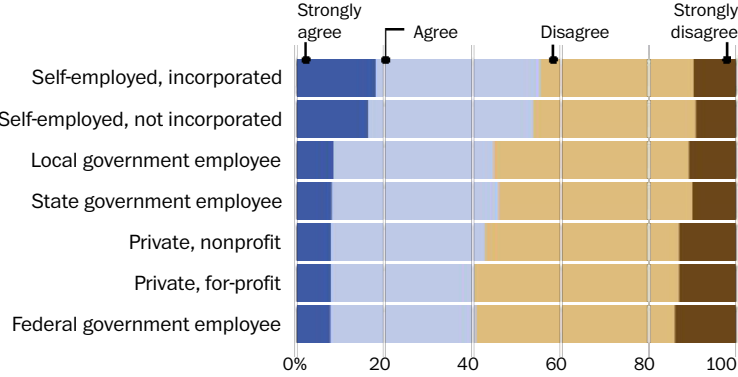
	MY MAIN SATISFACTION IN LIFE COMES FROM WORK	I AM PROUD TO BE WORKING FOR MY EMPLOYER	MY WORKPLACE CONTRIBUTES TO THE COMMUNITY	I CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMUNITY THROUGH MY WORK
Community and social services	11%	54%	61%	54%
Education and library	10	52	61	48
Protective service	9	54	53	45
Management, arts, bus. and science	9	56	50	32
Health-care practitioners	9	48	54	44
Personal care	14	51	40	30
Legal	8	55	49	32
Arts, entertainment, sports and media	12	54	39	28
Life, physical and social science	9	51	47	35
Financial specialists	9	50	45	25
Sales and related	10	48	40	24
Business operations specialists	6	51	46	26
Farming and forestry	14	44	31	27
Construction	13	44	33	25
Health-care support	11	39	36	31
Technicians	8	44	38	28
Transportation and material moving	11	37	34	24
Architecture and engineering	7	47	42	24
Office and admin. support	7	43	41	24
Computer and mathematical	7	45	40	22
Building and grounds cleaning	12	39	30	22
Installation and maintenance	9	40	33	24
Food prep and serving	9	33	30	18
Production	8	33	28	19

Source: 2021 and 2023 Civic Engagement and Volunteering Supplements from AmeriCorps and American Time Use Survey from the Bureau of Labor Statistics

Share who strongly agree with the following statements



MY MAIN SATISFACTION IN LIFE COMES FROM WORK



MY WORKPLACE CONTRIBUTES TO THE COMMUNITY



## In a previous analysis, we found the happiest places on Earth were houses of worship

Well-being by location, rated on a scale from 0 (low) to 6 (high)

LOCATION	HAPPINESS	MEANING	STRESS
Place of worship	5.2	5.5	0.7
Outdoors (not at home)	5.0	4.9	1.0
Someone else's home	5.0	4.8	0.9
Restaurant or bar	4.9	4.6	0.8
Bicycle	4.8	4.2	1.1
Vehicle (passenger)	4.7	4.2	1.2
Gym or health club	4.6	4.9	0.9
Other store or mall	4.6	4.4	1.3
Walking	4.5	4.1	1.2
Your home or yard	4.3	4.1	1.3
Vehicle (driver)	4.3	3.9	1.5
Grocery store	4.2	4.1	1.5
Subway or train	4.1	3.8	1.9
School	4.1	4.2	2.2
Bus	4.1	3.5	1.5
Your workplace	3.9	4.4	2.3
Bank	3.8	4.5	2.1

## And people are never happier than when they’re taking part in worship services or other spiritual activities

Well-being by activity, rated on a scale from 0 (low) to 6 (high)

ACTIVITY	HAPPINESS	MEANING	STRESS
Religious and spiritual activities	5.1	5.6	0.7
Sports, exercise and recreation	5.0	5.0	0.8
Caring for and helping non-household members	4.9	5.3	1.3
Caring for and helping household members	4.9	5.3	1.4
Volunteer activities	4.9	5.4	1.3
Eating and drinking	4.7	4.5	1.0
Telephone calls	4.5	4.7	1.7
Consumer purchases	4.4	4.2	1.4
Socializing, relaxing and leisure	4.4	3.9	1.0
Traveling	4.3	4.0	1.4
Household activities	4.2	4.5	1.3
Work and work-related activities	3.9	4.4	2.4
Professional and personal care	3.8	4.6	2.2
Education	3.6	4.2	2.6
Household services	3.6	4.0	2.0
Personal care	2.8	3.3	2.8

Note: Data is weighted for duration and comes from 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2021

DEPARTMENT OF DATA / THE WASHINGTON POST

To understand why religious workers would be so dang happy, we tracked down economist Olga Popova at the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, part of a publicly funded web of German research powerhouses. From her perch in Regensburg on Bavaria’s Danube plain, Popova wrote the book — or, more specifically, the book chapter — on religion and happiness research.

She and other scholars have found a strong relationship between religion and well-being. And they’ve found that active participation in religion — beyond simple affiliation with a mosque or temple — increases the well-being boost. And nobody participates more actively in religion than the clergy!

Furthermore, Popova said, clergy may gain a greater sense of purpose through their deeper engagement with doctrine. In particular, research shows religion better equips folks to handle some of life’s trials and tribulations.

“It’s plausible that clergy, through their constant work of helping others cope, develop a heightened ability to contextualize their own struggles,” she said. “By guiding parishioners through difficult times, clergy may acquire valuable skills and insights that buffer their own well-being.”

But of course, religious work may also attract the sort of people who prioritize living fulfilling lives.

“Individuals drawn to religious careers are more likely to possess certain personality traits, such as altruism or a strong sense of purpose, that are independently linked to well-being,” Popova told us.

To help untangle this web of causes, we called the Rev. Cheryl Lindsay, minister of worship and theology at the United Church of Christ. Among her many responsibilities, Lindsay mentors and trains young pastors and has, since 2019, led a congregation in Wellington, Ohio.

As we ticked off the survey questions, each seemed to resonate more than the last: Of course, she’s proud of her employer, both God and the Deity’s servants on Earth. And, of course, her work contributes to the community! For well over a century, the red-brick spires of her church have loomed over Main Street in Wellington, an old-growth hamlet of fewer than 5,000 people south of Oberlin where Lindsay provides food assistance and serves on community boards working on overdose prevention, local theater and more.

“That is also one of the things that I truly love about being a pastor,” Lindsay said. “It’s a great fulfillment to be able to engage beyond Sunday morning, beyond Bible study, beyond the confines of our religion, to be in community with others outside the faith.”

Such work has exposed her to a breadth of human experience far beyond what she saw in her previous life as a banker, she said, and given her skills to apply to her own life: “In effect, you minister to yourself out of the reservoir that you build.”

Lindsay noted that, to be sure, her job can be stressful, isolating and demanding. Work-life balance often eludes her. A typical pastor is running a small business and putting on weekly events even as they help parishioners navigate the highest peaks and deepest valleys of their lives.

“You don’t get to divorce yourself from the messiness of life. I’ve been in hospital rooms, visiting a member of the church. If they have a health crisis — I’m there. I’ve got calls in the middle of the night because a parishioner lost a child,” she said. “Those moments bring a heaviness.”

At the same time, Lindsay said, she has been “the first one to visit new parents when their baby is born. I’ve baptized babies and adults who have decided to join the church. I’ve officiated weddings. I’ve been invited to graduation parties.”

“The fulfillment, I think, is really sharing life with one another, but also ... drawing people deeper and deeper into their faith — which also can fortify your own.”

**The Department of Data curates questions.** What are you curious about: Who posts the most online? Where are the biggest waves? Who’s most likely to work in the gig economy? Just ask at [wapo.st/departments-of-data](https://wapo.st/departments-of-data).

If your question inspires a column, we’ll send you an official Department of Data button and ID card.



# Trump can undermine but can’t simply ax Biden’s appliance efficiency rules

BY NICOLÁS RIVERO

President-elect Donald Trump has vowed to dismantle much of President Joe Biden’s climate legacy — but there is one set of environmental policies that will be hard to reverse.

Over the past four years, the Biden administration has set new energy-efficiency standards for two dozen appliances, from air conditioners to microwaves. The rules would require companies to find ways to make dishwashers, dryers and other appliances use less energy — for example, by adding better insulation or using more advanced parts.

If all these rules take effect, the Energy Department says they will prevent the climate pollution equivalent of running 18 million cars or 22 coal power plants each year. They will also save the average American household \$107 a year on utility bills and cut businesses’ energy spending by a collective \$2 billion per year, according to a recent report from the Appliance Standards Awareness Project (ASAP) and the Public Interest Research Group.

During his first term, Trump tried to undermine existing efficiency rules and made it harder for the Energy Department to add new ones. He railed against

the standards in speeches. “That was a regulation that was put in by a lot of people that don’t understand life,” he said in 2020.

But, ultimately, not much changed: Companies kept making efficient appliances and Americans kept buying them, said Andrew deLaski, ASAP’s executive director. Trump’s effort “wasn’t terribly effective,” he said, adding that “manufacturers weren’t clamoring for these changes, and consumers weren’t clamoring for them.”

Experts say Biden’s efficiency rules will probably survive Trump — but Trump can still make his mark by deciding not to raise the standards for the next four years. “Although it’s hard to roll back a standard that’s already in place, it’s not that hard to slow-walk all of the standards that need to be looked at every year,” said Charlie Harak, senior attorney at the National Consumer Law Center.

## The impact of efficient appliances

Making appliances, cars and buildings more efficient is one of the best short-term ways to fight climate change, according to the International Energy Agency (IEA). Doubling the current pace of efficiency upgrades globally would do more to cut emissions between now and 2030 than

anything else, according to the agency.

Nearly a third of U.S. greenhouse emissions come from buildings — mainly the energy they use for heating, cooling, lighting and large appliances — the Environmental Protection Agency estimates.

Boosting efficiency also lowers energy bills, which is particularly useful for renters, who generally don’t get to pick the appliances in their homes. “Landlords are not going to invest in more-efficient products unless the inefficient ones are driven off the market by standards,” Harak said.

Altogether, efficiency rules are expected to save American households almost \$270 billion over the next two decades, according to ASAP. The biggest beneficiaries are in states with the highest energy prices, especially in the Northeast and Hawaii.

Critics of efficiency standards argue that they limit people’s choices and force companies to make worse products. But economists have tested that idea by studying moments when stricter standards kicked in and there were new, efficient appliances sitting on store shelves next to the old, inefficient models that were about to be phased out. People tended to buy the efficient

models, and stores struggled to sell the old ones, according to a 2019 study.

“To get the old models that are less efficient off the shelves, they’ve got to drop the prices, because people prefer the new,” said Michael Roberts, a University of Hawaii economist who co-authored the study.

## How could Trump weaken efficiency standards?

Trump won’t be able to simply ax Biden’s appliance efficiency rules, because of a key provision in the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act, which created federal efficiency standards for appliances.

“The law has an anti-backsliding clause that’s very strong,” deLaski said. “It says that no new standard can be weaker than the existing standard.”

It would take an act of Congress to change that law — which could prove difficult with narrow Republican majorities in the House and the Senate.

But there are other ways to undermine the rules. In his first term, Trump took aim at efficiency standards for dishwashers, which he said made the products worse.

“I had people saying they’d wash their dishes and they would press the button five times,” Trump told workers at a Whirl-

pool dishwasher factory in 2020. “So in the end, they’re probably wasting more water than if they did it once.”

To undermine the rules, his Energy Department reclassified dishwashers that had a 60-minute default wash cycle as a new kind of product, meaning that they wouldn’t have to follow existing efficiency standards. That opened a potential loophole for manufacturers: If they made their products default to a short wash cycle, they could get away with selling inefficient machines.

“The people that make the machines, you know what I’m talking about,” Trump told the Whirlpool workers. “We now have the water that you need.”

But, in reality, manufacturers — including Whirlpool — ignored the change and kept selling efficient appliances, deLaski said. Switching back to the old, inefficient version would cost too much.

“If you’ve got a couple hundred million dollars invested in a plant, it’s expensive to build new production lines and change how you do things,” he said.

“Once manufacturers know that a rule is going to come out at some point, then they automatically start preparing for it,” said Francis Dietz, a spokesperson for the Air Conditioning, Heating

and Refrigeration Institute. He added, “Sometimes it’s easier to not fight it and just go with what you were planning to do in the first place.”

Trump could, however, also undermine Biden’s efficiency rules by allowing them to be picked apart in lawsuits. Industry groups and state attorneys general have sued the Biden administration over its rules on furnaces, dishwashers and gas stoves. “The Trump administration could choose not to defend the standards that have been challenged in court,” deLaski said.

Depending on how those cases play out, judges could block the Biden-era rules and send them back to the Energy Department to be rewritten, which would give Trump a chance to water them down.

But Trump’s best strategy for weakening efficiency standards is simply to not propose any new ones during his term, Harak said. The Energy Department reviews the rules for a handful of appliances every year and decides whether to raise the bar for efficiency. Under Trump, the department may decide not to.

“Going forward, there would be a lot of gains consumers would have received in their pockets that won’t happen,” Harak said.

## THE TECH FRIEND

# Will AI kill Google? Past predictions of doom were greatly exaggerated.

BY SHIRA OVIDE

Lots of smart people believe that artificial intelligence will upend how you find information. Googling is so yesterday.

Sam Altman, the top executive overseeing ChatGPT, has said that AI has a good shot at shoving aside Google search. Bill Gates predicted that emerging AI will do tasks such as researching your ideal running shoes and automatically placing an order so you’ll “never go to a search site again.”

In defending itself from a judge’s decision that it runs an illegal monopoly, Google says the company might be roadkill as AI and other new technologies change how you find information. (On Nov. 20, the U.S. government asked the judge to overhaul Google to undo its monopoly.)

But predictions of Google’s looming obsolescence have been wrong before, which calls for humility in fortune-telling our collective technology habits. We’re devilishly unpredictable.

Come along on a trip back to when smart people believed that smartphone apps and social media would make Google less relevant. Those technology revolutions instead made searching with Google even bigger.

Maybe Google will be displaced this time by AI. It’s also important to keep asking: What if that prediction is wrong, too?

## The predicted Google killers of yore

When the iPhone, Facebook and Twitter were still fairly new, it was common to hear Silicon Valley insiders say that you’d start planning vacations by opening a travel app, not by searching Google for hotels in Maui.



EMMA KUMER/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

“On a mobile device, search hasn’t happened,” Steve Jobs said in 2010.

Likewise, plenty of people believed that instead of Googling for digital cameras, you’d ask your trusted Facebook friends for advice.

As one technology investor said in 2010, “For every second that people are on Facebook and for every ad that Facebook puts in front of their face, it is one less second they are on Google and one less ad that Google puts in

front of their face.”

It’s true that today, plenty of you turn to TikTok videos, Reddit, Facebook, Rotten Tomatoes, Yelp and Amazon when you want to know something or are looking for products or advice.

What was totally wrong, though, was believing those expanded information sources would make you Google less or would bleed money from the company. Smartphones and social media made Google search stronger — not weaker.

In 2010, people typed billions of searches into Google. The company now says that figure is in the trillions of searches each year.

Google’s websites in 2010 collected nearly \$20 billion in advertising money, mostly from ads that appeared with your web searches. This year, the company is on track to bring in roughly \$200 billion from ads on Google searches and a small hodgepodge of other things.

When your technology habits change, it’s not always an either-

or. Social media and smartphones changed how we get information and spend our time and money — *and* we Googled more, too.

## Maybe AI will be different (or not)

The past 15 years were unique in ways that might be a bad predictor of our future. The number of people using the internet has exploded since 2010, and shifting from PCs to smartphones caused us to spend more time

online. That meant lots of internet sites could gain without Google losing.

Google changed to adapt to your information habits, too.

The company’s critics, and a federal judge, also say that Google broke the law to ward off threats from changing technology. (Google says it plans to appeal the ruling that it broke anti-monopoly laws. The company declined to comment beyond an online post.)

AI definitely could draw us away from Google in ways that smartphones and social media didn’t. When you’re planning a garden, an AI helper might guide you through where you want the flowers and fruit trees and hire help for you. No Googling necessary.

“People are increasingly turning to ChatGPT to find information from the web, including the latest news,” Altman’s company, OpenAI, said.

Maybe it’s right to extrapolate from how people are starting to use AI today. Or maybe that’s the mistake that Jobs made when he said no one was searching on iPhones. It wasn’t wrong in 2010, but it was within a few years. Or what if AI upends how billions of us find information and we still keep on Googling?

“The notion that we can predict how these new technologies are going to evolve is silly,” said David B. Yoffie, a Harvard Business School professor who has spent decades studying the technology industry.

Amit Mehta, the judge overseeing the Google monopoly case, has his own view on AI moving us away from searching Google.

“AI may someday fundamentally alter search, but not anytime soon,” he said.

# Millions from tax refunds go to pay fees that IRS gives no warnings about

BY JULIE ZAUMER WEIL

Americans paid private tax preparers nearly \$850 million in fees for special-purpose bank accounts to receive their tax refunds in the most recent tax year, according to a new government report that faulted the Internal Revenue Service for failing to warn consumers about the expense.

In a report this month, the Treasury Inspector General for Tax Administration found that nearly 22 million taxpayers used a tax refund product provided by their tax preparer last year — primarily temporary bank accounts created to receive the refund, but also loans that gave them early access to the money. Both services often come with fees, the report said — and the IRS has no warnings about them.

When she filed her federal return through TurboTax, the most popular private tax preparation software, Jennie Whitney expected a refund of more than \$4,000. But instead of paying TurboTax its fees up front, she opted to let the company take them out of her refund.

Later, Whitney was astonished to learn that TurboTax had opened a temporary bank ac-

count for her to execute that plan — and had charged her an extra \$39 to do it.

“That’s abhorrent, to charge the people who obviously need to use that service because they don’t have the money for the fee right now,” said Whitney, a Florida mother of three. “You’re going to make me pay to have you send me my own money?”

In an email, TurboTax spokeswoman Lisa Greene-Lewis defended the company’s record, saying consumers benefit from services that provide early access to refunds. “Waiting for a tax refund is never fun, and TurboTax wants to help relieve the stress of waiting with our Refund Advance,” she wrote.

While the use of refund products has declined slightly over the past three years, the inspector general found that almost 16 percent of taxpayers used at least one fee-bearing product in the most recent tax year, above the cost of tax preparation. Temporary bank accounts were by far the most common, used by about 21 million taxpayers. The largest companies charged about \$40 for the service, the report said, amounting to 1 percent of the average customer’s refund.

In addition, nearly a million

taxpayers opted for “refund anticipation loans” offered by tax preparers. While some loans come with fees but no interest, a majority of customers took out loans with annual rates of around 35 percent.

In its response, the IRS said that most taxpayers who file electronically and receive refunds by direct deposit get the money within 21 days and that the IRS makes free filing options available. “It is important to recognize that many other factors beyond our control influence the decision by taxpayers on whether they choose to use tax refund products,” IRS taxpayer services division chief Kenneth Corbin wrote.

But the inspector general found that people who took on loans typically faced longer wait times: The average processing time for their refunds was 28 days. And almost all of them were owed relatively large refunds — on average, \$6,696 — in part because of refundable credits such as the earned income tax credit and the child tax credit.

Refundable tax credits are one of Washington’s largest antipoverty measures. But unlike food stamps or Medicaid, they often require the recipient to pay someone to apply — by preparing their

tax return.

“Instead of going to a case-worker that you don’t have to pay for yourself as the applicant, you have to go to a return preparer and pay them to apply for this benefit,” said Nina Olson, who served as national taxpayer advocate from 2001 to 2019. “It’s a hidden cost, and it shifts the burden from the government to the actual recipient, which is not what happens with the other traditional benefits.”

Some industry observers argue that tax preparation companies are providing a useful service in exchange for a small cut of refunds. A trade group for companies that offer tax-related products pointed to their millions of users as evidence that they work well for customers.

“Such products offer taxpayers the opportunity to engage a professional tax preparer without out-of-pocket costs,” the American Coalition for Taxpayer Rights said in a statement sent to The Washington Post. “These financial products are regulated, transparent and reasonably priced, and there clearly is a demand for them among taxpayers.”

Sarah Halpern-Meekin, director of the University of Wisconsin’s Institute for Research on

Poverty, agreed, cautioning that some taxpayers would wait longer for their refunds — or be unable to afford the up-front cost of tax preparation altogether — without these services.

“It’s easy to critique any products that are offered that incur costs or high interest rates, but we also need to ask what happens if those go away,” she said. “Is it better to pay a fee and then get to avoid eviction or avoid having your heat cut off? There are consequences for being credit-constrained.”

Research by Halpern-Meekin showed that, in 2007, about 2 percent of federal spending on the earned income tax credit went to tax preparer and bank fees — a sum that some advocates called unacceptable.

“We don’t want corporations to be the middleman brokers for what should be free government services,” said Portia Allen-Kyle, managing director of Color of Change, a nonprofit that has found a disproportionate concentration of tax preparers in majority-Black neighborhoods. “Particularly for Black taxpayers, they have crafted a business that directly takes money out of government antipoverty programs

and puts it into their coffers.”

The fees can add up. An earlier Government Accountability Office report requested by Sens. Elizabeth Warren (D-Massachusetts) and Tammy Duckworth (D-Illinois) found that some taxpayers paid an additional \$10 to have their state refunds transferred to the temporary bank account. Meanwhile, some tax companies charged \$25 to deliver refunds as paper checks — a service the IRS provides at no charge.

Some tax preparers also offer to load refunds onto prepaid debit cards, which can come with hidden fees, including charges for using an ATM.

The GAO report found that people who use these products generally have annual incomes below \$40,000 and are disproportionately Black.

“The ads make it seem like a totally free service, but it ends up being an additional tax on people [who] don’t have the cash flow to pay their normal expenses,” said Jacob William Faber, a New York University sociologist. “The fact that ... alternative financial service providers are kind of skimming off of these programs increases the cost of these programs in a pernicious and wasteful way.”











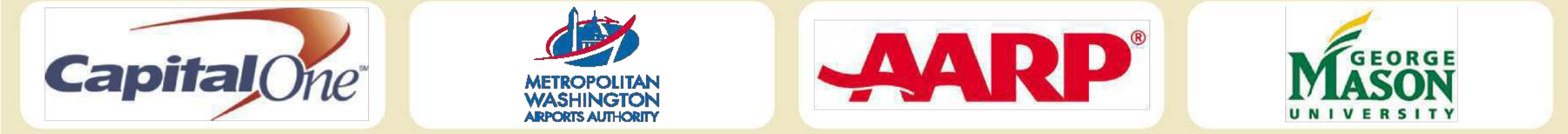
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SPOTLIGHT



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This weekly FE spotlight showcases just a small sample of our Featured Employers, enabling you to learn more about each company and some of the thousands of jobs they are currently hiring for. Stay in the game and check out the FE Spotlight each Sunday to discover new D.C. area companies and other great jobs. Washington Post Jobs is D.C.'s #1 Source for Jobs.

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Featured Employers of The Week

**Adventist HealthCare**  
**Employer Industry:** Healthcare/**Location:** Gaithersburg/**Openings:** 500—We are a faith-based healthcare organization, based in Montgomery County, Maryland. We are the largest employer in Montgomery County with over 6,000 employees! Our comprehensive approach to caring for our community includes three acute-care hospitals – Shady Grove Medical Center, White Oak Medical Center and Fort Washington Medical Center – as well as two Physical Rehabilitation hospitals, Outpatient centers, Imaging Centers, Urgent Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician Networks. We are nationally recognized and honored especially for our Cardiac, OB, Cancer, Stroke, Orthopedic, Rehabilitation and Mental Health services. Our mission is to extend God's care through the ministry of...

**George Mason University**  
**Employer Industry:** Education/**Location:** Fairfax/**Openings:** 233—George Mason University is a university with three campuses, each with a distinctive academic focus that plays a critical role in the economy of its region. At each campus, students, faculty, and staff have full access to all the university's resources, while duplication of programs and support services is minimized through the use of technology. In addition to the main campus in Fairfax, the university has campuses in Arlington and Prince William Counties.

**Dietary Aide, PT Evening Shift, Food and Nutrition Services—Rockville**  
Adventist HealthCare Rehabilitation seeks to hire an experienced Dietary Aide for our free-standing acute rehabilitation hospital who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Dietary Aide, you will: Work patient tray line assembling...

**Stockroom Clerk, Day Shift, White Oak Medical Center—Silver Spring**  
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Nurse Residency Coordinator who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Stockroom Clerk, you will: Identify, pick, and distribute inventoried stock items to maintain par levels for...

**Registered Nurse (RN), Night Shift, Med Surg—Rockville**  
Shady Grove Medical Center seeks to hire a full time, experienced Registered Nurse (RN) for our Med Surg in Rockville, Maryland. Qualified candidates with a minimum of 2 years of Med Surg RN experience will be eligible for a \$10,000 sign-on bonus. As a Registered Nurse (RN) you will: Educate patients and...

**Registered Nurse (RN), PT Day Shift, Outpatient Wound Care—Rockville**  
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Registered Nurse for our Wound-care Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As an ED Registered Nurse, you will: Educate patients and family through the continuum...

**Patient Access Registrar I, Day Shift—Rockville**  
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Patient Access ED Registrar I who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an ED Registrar I, you will: Enter all demographic, insurance, and patient notes accurately. Register and...

**Clinic Administrative Specialist—Fairfax**  
Department: University Life - Student Health Services. Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: GMU Worker. Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Part-Time. Work Schedule: Up to 20 hours/week. Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: \$20/hour, commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check...

**Administrative Assistant—Fairfax**  
Department: UL Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Part-Time. Work Schedule: Monday to Thursday most weeks, schedule will change depending on programming needs. Location: Arlington, VA. Workplace Type: On Site Required. Salary: Salary commensurate with...

**Associate Director of Development, Major Gift Officer—Fairfax**  
Department: Col of Visual and Performing Arts. Classification: Administrative Faculty. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time Work. Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal...

**Financial Aid Counselor—Fairfax**  
Department: Division of Enrollment Management. Classification: Administrative Faculty. Job Category: Administrative or Professional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time Work. Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal...

**Administrative Assistant, CREE & MRED—Fairfax**  
Department: Costello College of Business. Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Full-Time Work. Schedule: Part-Time/29 hours per week. Location: Arlington, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal...

**Director of Development—Fairfax**  
Department: Col of Ed and Human Development. Classification: Administrative Faculty. Job Category: Administrative or Professional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time Work. Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal...

**Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority**  
**Employer Industry:** Delivery and Transportation/**Location:** Washington D.C. /**Openings:** 50—The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority operates the second largest rail transit system and the fifth largest bus network in the United States. Safe, clean and reliable, "America's Transit System" transports more than a third of the federal government to work and millions of tourists to the landmarks in the Nation's Capital. Metro has earned a worldwide reputation for security and architectural beauty. WMATA is clearly the employer of choice for over 10,000 area residents. The Authority was created in 1967 by an interstate compact to plan, develop, build, finance and operate a balanced regional transportation system in the National Capital area. Construction of the Metrorail system began in 1969. Four area bus systems...

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Healthcare-We are a faith-based healthcare organization, based in Montgomery County, Maryland. We are the largest employer in Montgomery County with over 6,000 employees! Our comprehensive approach to caring for our community includes three acute-care hospitals – Shady Grove Medical Center, White Oak Medical Center and Fort Washington Medical Center – as well as two Physical Rehabilitation hospitals, Outpatient centers, Imaging Centers, Urgent Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician Networks. We are nationally recognized...

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**Dewberry**  
Engineering-Dewberry is a leading, market-facing professional services firm with more than 50 offices and 2,000 professionals nationwide. What sets us apart from our competitors are our people. At Dewberry, we seek out exceptional talent and strive to deliver the highest quality of services to our clients. Whether you're an experienced professional or a new graduate, you'll have the chance to collaborate with the best and brightest and work on innovative and complex projects at the forefront of the industry. Our commitment to excellence stems from...

**Westat**  
Research-Westat, headquartered in Rockville, Maryland, near Washington, D.C., is an employee-owned research corporation serving agencies of the U.S. Government, state and local governments, businesses, and foundations. We conduct surveys and program evaluations, provide statistical research, and offer related services. Our multiproject environment provides career opportunities in health, energy, education, transportation, the environment, human services, and the workforce. We combine the relevant research area expertise...

**American Speech-Language-Hearing Association**  
Associations-The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association was founded in 1925. It is a not-for-profit scientific and professional association for speech-language pathologists, audiologists, and speech and hearing scientists. ASHA is committed to the consumers of our services, the more than 42 million Americans with communication disorders. ASHA's mission is to ensure that all people with speech-language, and hearing disorders receive quality services from well-educated professionals. The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association...

**Fairfax County Government**  
Government and Public Services-Fairfax County, Virginia is a diverse and thriving urban county. As the most populous jurisdiction in both Virginia and the Washington metropolitan area, the County's population exceeds that of seven states. The median household income of Fairfax County is one of the highest in the nation and over half of its adult residents have four-year college degrees or more educational attainment. Fairfax County also is home to an extensive commercial office market and is a major employment center. Fairfax County Government is a great...

**Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority**  
Airport Operations-Management-The Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority operates a two-airport system that provides domestic and international air service for the mid-Atlantic region. The organization consists of approximately 1,700 employees in a structure that includes central administration, airports management, and police and fire departments. In addition to operating Ronald Reagan Washington National and Washington Dulles International Airports, the Airports Authority is responsible for capital improvements at both airports and management of the Dulles Toll Road.

**Fairfax Water**  
Science-Fairfax County Water Authority (Fairfax Water) is Virginia's largest water utility, serving one out of every five Virginians who obtain their water from public utilities. Nearly 1.5 million people in the Northern Virginia communities of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William and Alexandria depend on Fairfax Water for superior drinking water. That's 1.5 million friends, neighbors and family members. We don't need any other reason to demand the highest in water quality standards! Chartered in 1957 by the Virginia State Corporation Commission as a public, non-profit...

**Alexandria City Public Schools**  
Education-Alexandria City Public Schools is one of the most diverse school systems in the country and we celebrate that diversity. Our students come from more than 80 different countries, speak more than 60 languages, and represent a rainbow of ethnic and cultural groups. They are economically diverse, but all are rich in that the residents of Alexandria are dedicated to ensuring that each and every one of them achieves success. The children of Alexandria have benefited significantly from the strong support of City Council and the Alexandria community...

**The MIL Corporation (MIL)**  
Government Contractor-Established in 1980, MIL provides innovative cyber, engineering, financial, and information technology services to the federal government. Our subject matter experts help advance customer operations through proven tools and methodologies. Dedicated to excellence, service, and support, MIL recognizes that sustained high-quality service delivery is a critical contributor to our success. We are recognized by our clients and industry professionals alike for our integrity, diligence, and expertise across our core service areas: Cyber Services MIL...

**AARP**  
Associations-AARP is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, social welfare organization with a membership of nearly 38 million. Our aim is to disrupt preconceived notions about aging, turn goals and dreams into Real Possibilities, strengthen communities and fight for the issues that matter most to people 50-plus and their families: such as health care, employment security and retirement planning.

**Capital One**  
Financial Services and Banking-We Don't Only Think Big Things—At Capital One, We Do Big Things. You're dedicated to your career. You deserve professional satisfaction and personal fulfillment. You belong at Capital One. Here, every day brings another chance to do impactful work that matters: helping millions of customers confidently manage their money, building stronger communities and delivering truly disruptive tech. You'll give your all alongside some of the brightest, most resilient people in the industry—and in return, you'll enjoy the growth opportunities...

**City of Alexandria Virginia**  
Government and Public Services-The City of Alexandria is an award-winning, innovative, and progressive local government that brings together elected leaders, residents, businesses, and staff to foster a thriving community. We are an independent, full-service city, providing the services typically operated by both counties and cities in areas such as public safety, transportation, human services, parks and recreation, planning, and administration. We offer a wide range of exciting career opportunities in a variety of fields, with the resources and expertise...

**Speech Language Pathologist - \$10,000 Sign-on Bonus—Phoenix**  
When you join the healthcare team at Phoenix Children's, you'll see the world of medicine through the eyes of a child. You'll be amazed by something new every day, inspired by the capabilities and expertise of your co-workers, and you'll be able to...

**Assistant Professor of Audiology—Mobile**  
The Department of Speech Pathology And Audiology in the Pat Capps Covey College of Allied Health Professions at the University of South Alabama invites applications for a full-time (12 month), tenure-track appointment at the rank of Assistant Professor. Applicants with expertise in any...

**Management And Budget Division Director - Sap Functional Support—Fairfax**  
Serves as department subject matter expert and subject matter expert to multiple other county departments and agencies. As a registered professional engineer, leverages a strong technical background, excellence in design, attention to detail and quality control...

**Engineer IV - Mechanical Engineer—**  
Provides senior level leadership and is responsible for the overall development and management of large scale and/or multiple complex capital and non-capital projects for and in occupied spaces. OR develops and manages cross-functional capital renewal projects for and in...

**Rates and Charges Specialist (Financial Analyst)—Washington D.C.**  
Compensation Grade: S21. Salary Range: \$100,655.00-\$145,951.00. As a Rates and Charges Specialist, you will maintain and operate the Airports Authority's statistical models to develop rates and charges, methods for calculating charges not provided in the Use Agreement, and forecasting...

**Program Cost Engineer—Washington D.C.**  
Compensation Grade: S22. Salary Range: \$112,986.00-\$163,829.00. As a Program Cost Engineer, you will manage project costs, budgets, expenditures, and forecasting for the Airports Authority's capital projects and programs.

**IT Security Analyst I-III—Fairfax**  
Under close supervision of the Supervisor, Network Cybersecurity & Telecommunications, you will execute and integrates activities and resources for information security activities. The role is responsible for maintaining and enforcing the Fairfax Water information security and assurance...

**Engineer I - III (plan Review)—Fairfax**  
Under close supervision of the Chief, Plan Review, assists in reviewing plans to determine related plans to determine whether proposed water system facilities meet Fairfax Water requirements, and maintaining compliance with Virginia Department of Health Local Review Program...

**Instructional Coach- Special Education—Alexandria**  
The Instructional Coach of special education will provide leadership, professional learning, and coaching support to teachers on the development of special education practices that increase opportunities for all students to succeed. The Instructional Coach-SPED will assist ACPs school-based...

**English Language Proficiency Assessors—Alexandria**  
The Office of English Learner Services is seeking experienced educators to serve as assessors, on a temporary part-time basis, to primarily assist in administering English language proficiency screener assessments to students registering for school...

**Costpoint Administrator (Contracts Administration, Analyst)—Remote**  
Clearance Required: None. Education Required: BA/BS. The MIL Corporation is looking for Costpoint Administrator (Contracts Administration, Analyst) who will coordinate with Project Management Team, Project Control Analysts, and Billing to set up...

**Business Analysis, Senior Analyst—Charleston**  
Clearance Required: Top Secret. Education Required: BA/BS. The MIL Corporation seeks a Business Analysis, Senior Analyst to support a Federal Government client at our Charleston, SC location. As a member of the Global Compensation team, the successful candidate will provide...

**Data Science Manager—**  
The Data Science Manager will lead the development of scalable algorithms and real-time recommendation systems, driving key business insights. This role focuses on building efficient data pipelines and implementing advanced machine learning models for classification and regression tasks, including...

**Delivery Lead II, Unified Marketing—Washington D.C.**  
The Delivery Lead II, Unified Marketing role drives predictable, quality delivery while maintaining a focus on continuous team improvements. Engages in platform/product roadmap development and collaborates with stakeholders to assess information technology needs, define...

**Audit Director, FCC & Compliance (Hybrid)—McLean**  
Capital One's Audit function is a dedicated group of professionals focused on delivering top-quality assurance services to the organization's Audit Committee. Audit professionals are experienced, well-trained...

**Manager, Product Management (Hybrid)—Piano, TX**  
Product Management at Capital One is a booming, vibrant craft that requires reimagining the status quo, finding value creation opportunities, and driving innovative and sustainable customer experiences through technology. We...

**Technology Program Manager (Operations/Service Desk)—Alexandria**  
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602 Found

HOWARD CO. ANIMAL CONTROL If you have lost an animal in the Howard County/Washington Metro area: Please call Howard Co. Animal Control at 410-313-2780

602 Found

MONTGOMERY CO. ANIMAL SHELTER If you have lost an animal in the Washington Metro area: Please call the Montgomery Co. Animal Shelter at 240-773-5960 or online for found animals at [www.mcthumane.org](http://www.mcthumane.org)

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Beagle Purebred Male Puppies DOB: 09/06/24 Shots and Dewormed. Beautiful & playful with a wonderful disposition! \$600 each. Call 540.743.2874

GOLDEN RET AKC & GOLDEN / LAB RET CROSS PUPS & ADULTS 8 weeks - 5 yrs. Vet checked, parents on prem, health guar. 240-620-2013. [www.Victorias-Pups.com](http://www.Victorias-Pups.com)

Goldendoodles - CKC reg. Ready to go 12/15. \$800. Call 304-319-6566

610 Dogs for Sale

Great Dane Meet our new Christmas ready puppies, born 10-2-24. Purebred, shots, dewormed, Merle and Black & White in color. All ready for their new home! Great family pets. 2 Males & 3 Females left. \$700 Call/text 571-247-2842 for more info or best offer, located in Northern VA.

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Yorkie 1M 1F Teacup sized Yorkie pups, registered and tails docked, wonderful Christmas pups \$1400 ..(540)424-9469

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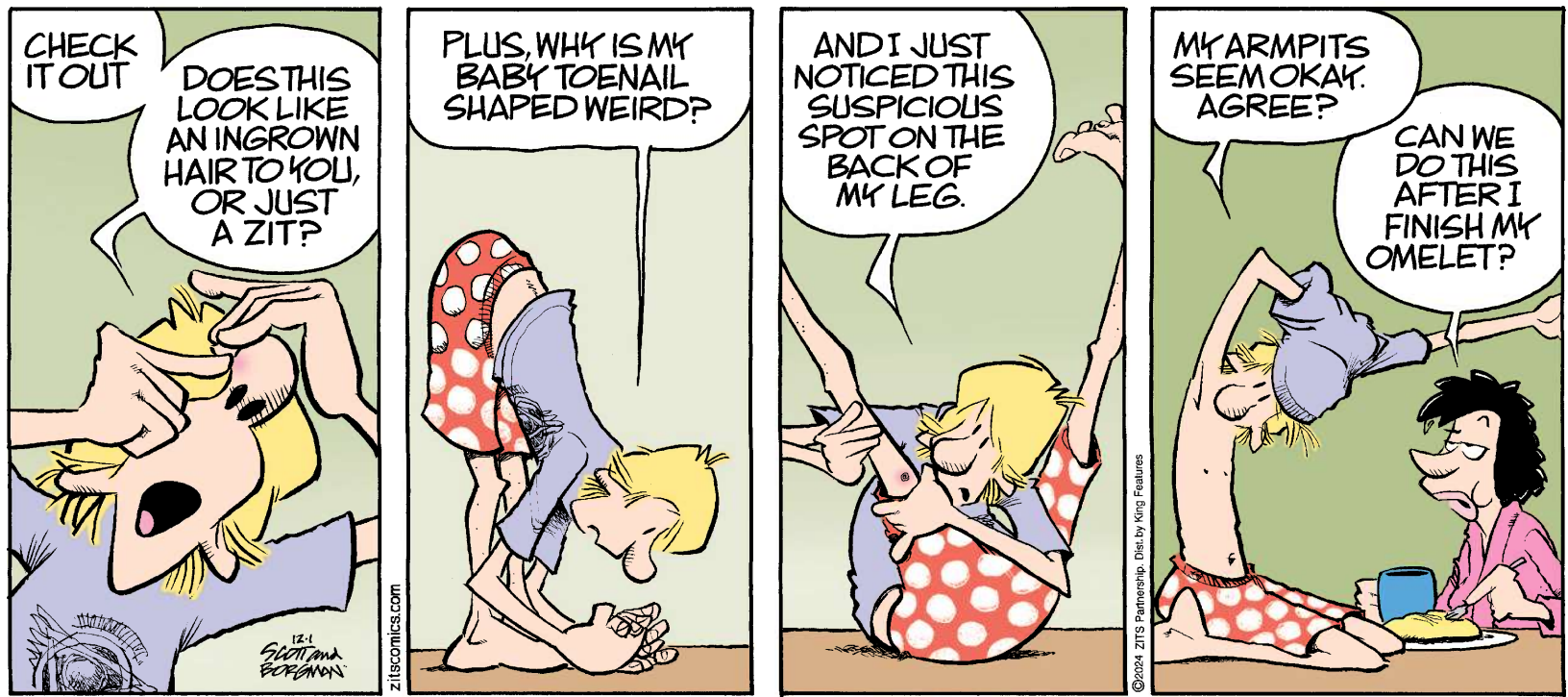
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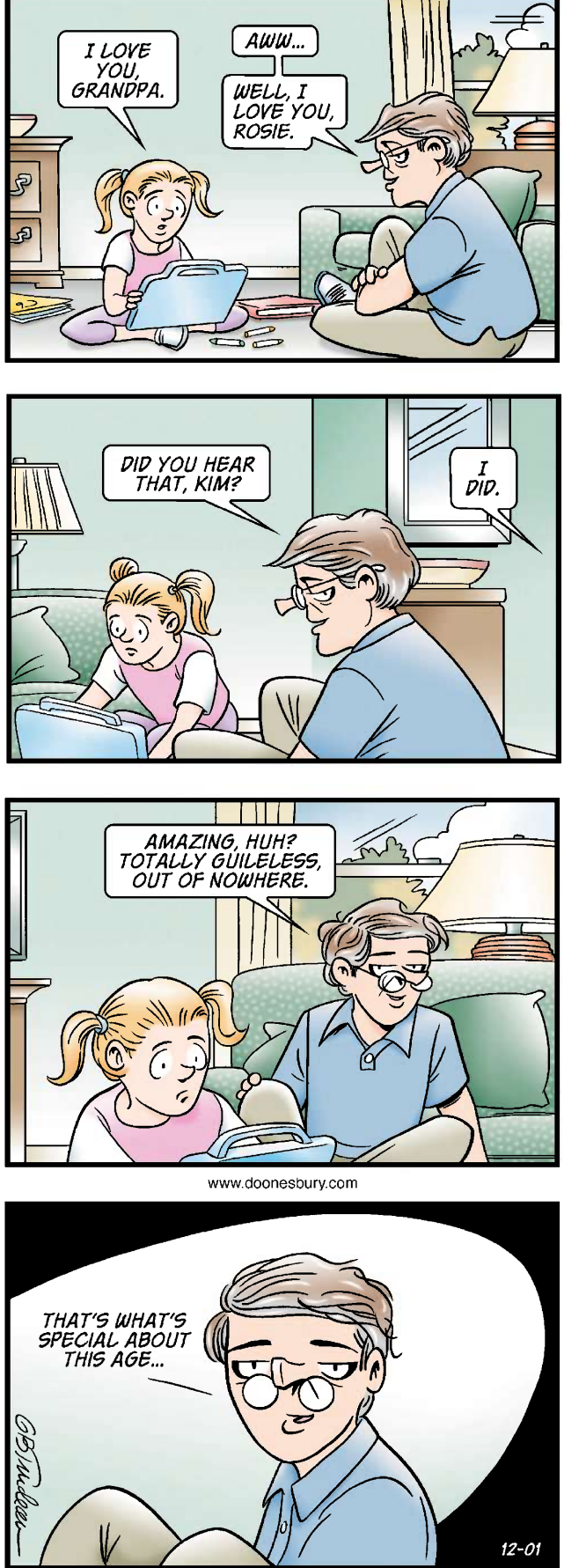
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By Jerry Scott & Jim Borgman



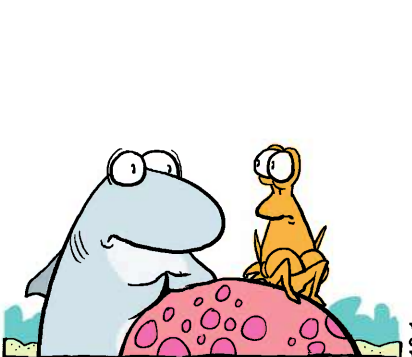
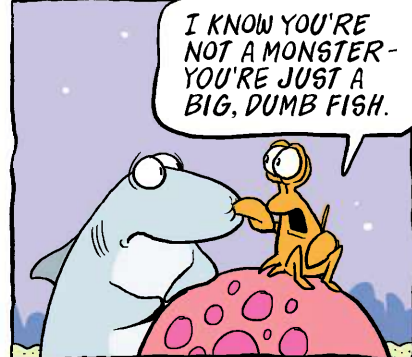
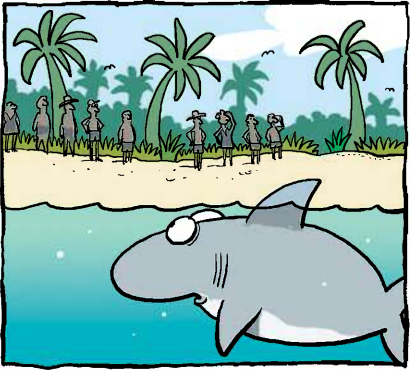
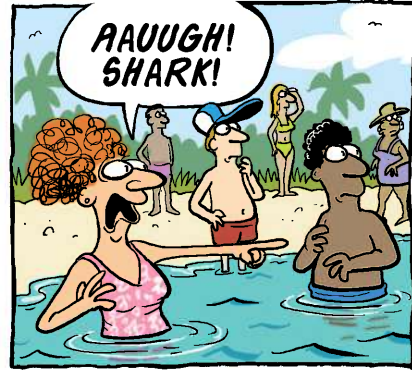
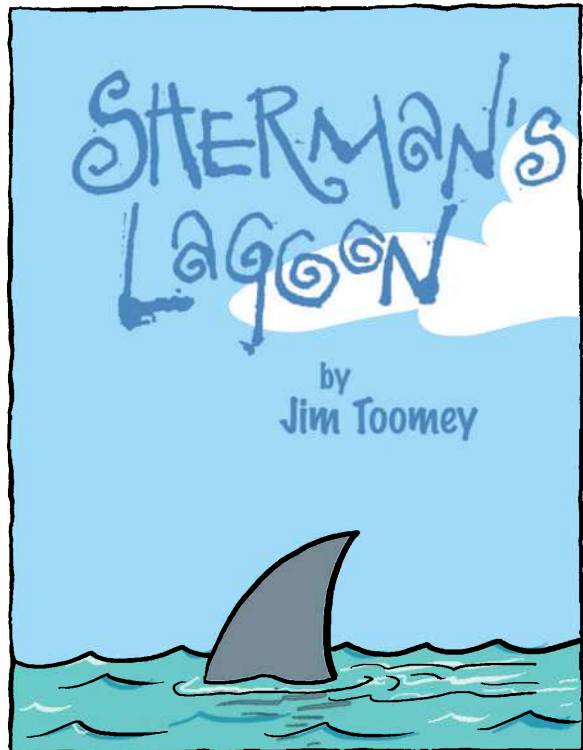
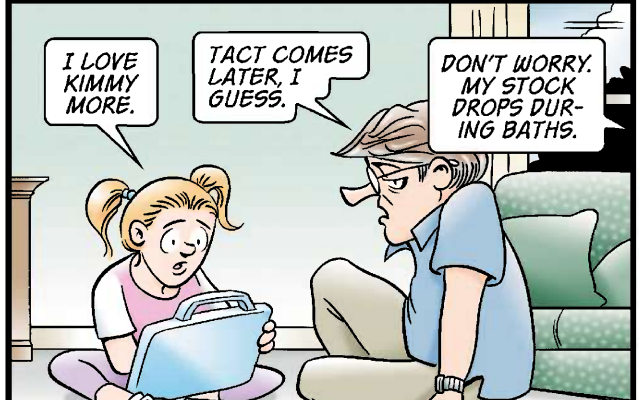
DOONESBURY

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BABY BLUES

By Rick Kirkman & Jerry Scott





# CANDORVILLE

by DARRIN BELL

YOU'RE RIGHT, MR. BROWN. WE SENT YOU A MISLEADING AD SUGGESTING THAT IF YOU'D CONSOLIDATE ALL YOUR DEBT ONTO OUR CARD, THAT WOULD LEAD TO GOOD CREDIT.

THEN WHEN YOUR OTHER CREDITORS SAW THE LARGE BALANCE YOU PUT ON OUR CARD, THEY THOUGHT YOU WERE A CREDIT RISK AND LOWERED YOUR CREDIT LIMITS.

...AND SINCE THAT WAS OUR FAULT, IT'S WRONG FOR US TO LOWER YOUR CREDIT LIMIT JUST BECAUSE THE OTHER CREDITORS LOWERED THEIR LIMITS.

ONE SECOND...

OK, I'VE RESTORED YOUR HIGH CREDIT LIMIT. PLEASE ACCEPT OUR APOLOGIES.

WOW. I DIDN'T EXPECT Y--

HEY, BIG L...

HERE'S ALL THE MONEY YOU EVER LOANED ME SINCE WE WAS KIDS. WITH INTEREST.

THUG & LIFE

NOOOOOOOOOO!!!

BUY CANDORVILLE BOOKS at WWW.CANDORVILLE.COM  
derrinbell.substack.com ©2024 Darrin Bell dist. by King Features Syndicate

## THE ARGYLE SWEATER

By Scott Hilburn

©2024 Scott Hilburn/Distributed by Andrews McMeel Syndication

### TRUE SUPERHERO WEAKNESSES

UM, I'M GONNA BE LATE. MY LAWN SPRINKLERS ARE ON.

IRON MAN: RUST

AQUAMAN: DRYNESS

OH, NO! PENCIL MAN!

GREEN LANTERN: WOOD AND THE COLOR YELLOW

MAGNETO: AN MRI

BRUCE BANNER: HIS TAILOR BILL

12/1

## FRAZZ

By Jef Mallett

YOUR COAT LOOKS A LITTLE SMALL.

YEAH, IT'S LAST YEAR'S.

AND MY CHEAPO DAD IS STILL TORN OVER WHAT TO BUY ME FOR THIS YEAR.

ONE HEAVY PARKA THAT WILL BE PERFECT FOR ABOUT 5 DAYS AND OVERKILL FOR THE REST?

OR DO WE TAKE THE LAYERING APPROACH...

YOU KNOW THAT'S THREE WORDS.

WELL, I'M LAYERING.

AND BUY 3 OR 4 OR 5 PIECES FOR ME TO OUTGROW?

ONE WORD: SKI SWAP MEET.

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## LiO

A MARK TATULLI COMIC

FWEEOOOO

CCCCCRACKK!

VERY FUNNY.

©2024 Mark Tatulli/Distr. by Andrews McMeel Syndication

## BARNEY & CLYDE

by Weingartens & Clark

I love Sundays.

Because it is a time set aside for leisure, which is a precious commodity, getting even more precious?

Not really.

Because it makes people feel more spiritually invigorated?

Not really.

Then color me confused.

That's IT!

©2024 Weingartens & Clark 12/1

## DENNIS THE MENACE

By Hank Ketcham

HOW DID YOUR DOCTOR'S APPOINTMENT GO?

NOT GREAT.

I GAINED FIVE POUNDS AND MY BLOOD PRESSURE WENT UP A LITTLE BIT.

©2024 by North America Synd.

YOU HAVE TO STAY OUT OF THE REFRIGERATOR, GEORGE.

AND I THINK I FOUND SOMETHING TO HELP.

©2024 by North America Synd.



**NANCY**

A cartoon illustration of a young girl with dark hair and a red bow, wearing a black vest with red polka dots and blue shoes. She is climbing a spiral staircase with a wooden handrail. The staircase is set against a light purple background. The girl is holding onto the handrail and is positioned on one of the steps. The drawing is done in a simple, childlike style with bold outlines. In the bottom right corner, there is a signature that reads 'Q. 12/27'.

© 2024 UFS, Dist. by Andrews McKee Syndication

By Olivia Jaimes

## HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

12 11

CAN I HELP YOU?

YES! I NEED FLOWERS FOR A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN WHO HAS CAPTURED MY HEART LIKE NO OTHER!

I'D LIKE **THESE** DELIVERED TO ASTRID HALVARD?

EXCELLENT CHOICE! THAT'S OUR BEST-SELLING ARRANGEMENT!

UNFORTUNATELY, MY DELIVERY GUY JUST WENT HOME SICK!

NO PROBLEM.' I'LL TAKE THEM TO MY NEW SOULMATE MYSELF.'

By Dik Browne

## NON SEQUITUR

By Wiley

## THE OVERCROWDED PRISON SANTA SOLUTION

WILEY/©'24 WILEY INK, LTD. 12-1 WILEYINK@EARTHLINK.NET  
DIST. BY ANDREWS MCMEELE SYNDICATION GOCOMICS.COM



# FoxTrot

by Bill Amend

HOW'S YOUR MATH HOMEWORK COMING ALONG?

I'VE DONE HALF A PROBLEM.

PAIGE!

HEY, I'M IN WAY BETTER SHAPE THAN PETER!

by Dave Coverly

PETERRR!

I'M GONNA MISS OUR BROTHER WHEN HE GOES OFF TO COLLEGE.

IF HE SOMEHOW GETS INTO ONE.

12-1  
MEND

## PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

By Stephan Pastis

HEY, PIG, ARE YOU STILL GONNA HELP US WITH OUR FOOD FESTIVAL?

HI, WILL... YEAH, THEY HAVE ME BARBECUING SHEEP MEAT.


WOK. YOU'RE GONNA COOK IT IN A WOK. IT'S A CHINESE FOOD FESTIVAL.

OKAY, BUT THAT'S A LOT OF WORK FOR ONE PERSON. SO YOU NEED TO HELP ME.

FINE, BUT MAKE SURE YOU BUY ONLY FEMALE SHEEP MEAT.


YEAH, BUT NOT JUST ME, WILL. WE BOTH HAVE TO DO THAT.

**SURE. AND GET THERE EARLY TO WARM UP THE WOK. YOU'LL BE COOKING A LOT OF THAT EWE BY YOURSELF.**

A cartoon illustration showing a chef with a white hat and apron standing behind a counter. To his left is a grey mouse holding a blue cup. To his right is a pink pig holding a blue cup. On the counter in front of the pig is a white plate with a single french fry. A speech bubble from the chef contains the text: "SURE. AND GET THERE EARLY TO WARM UP THE WOK. YOU'LL BE COOKING A LOT OF THAT EWE BY YOURSELF."

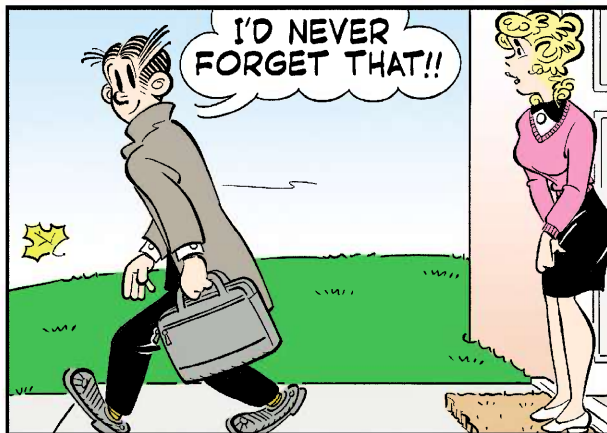
WE, WILL - WE, WILL - WOK EWE.

I'M KICKING HIS CAN ALL OVER THE PLACE.

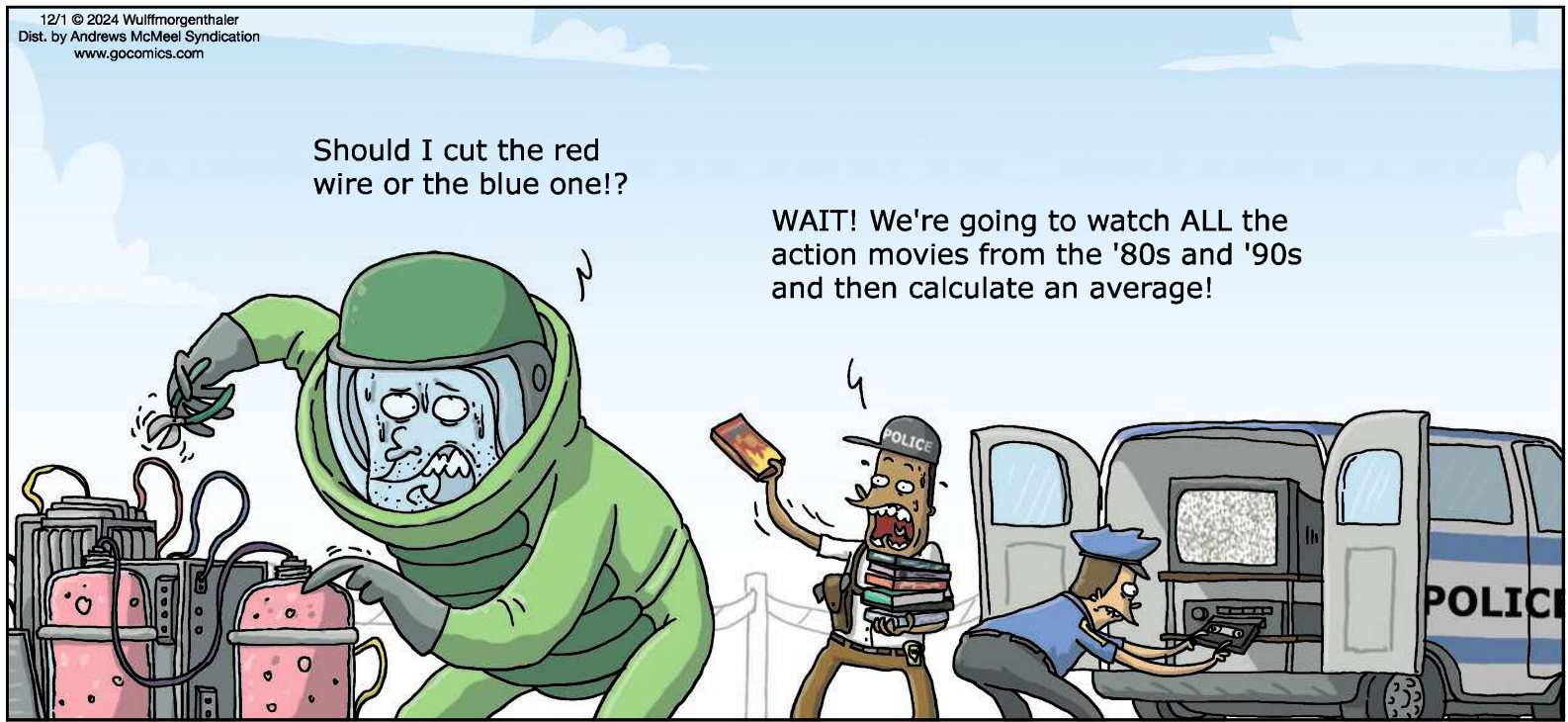




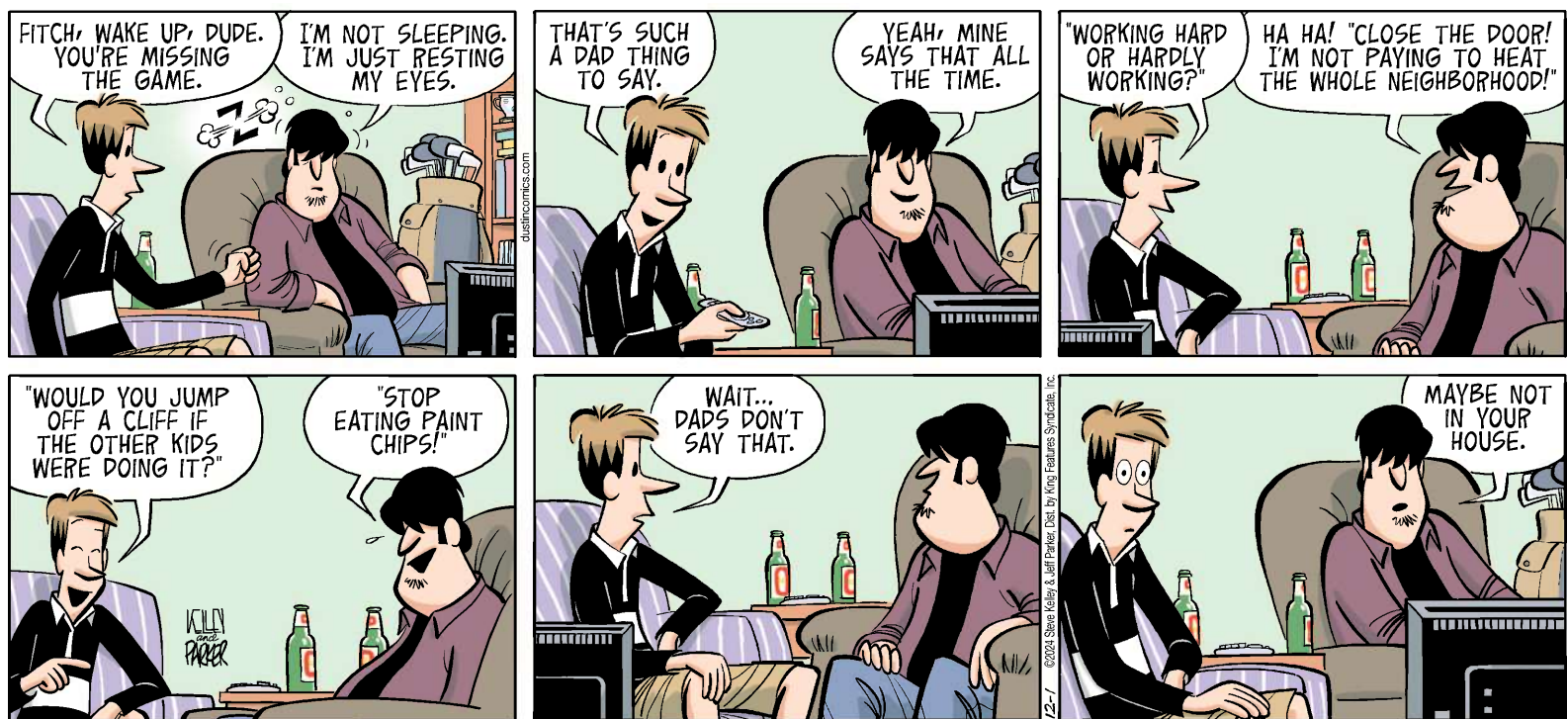
By Dean Young & John Marshall



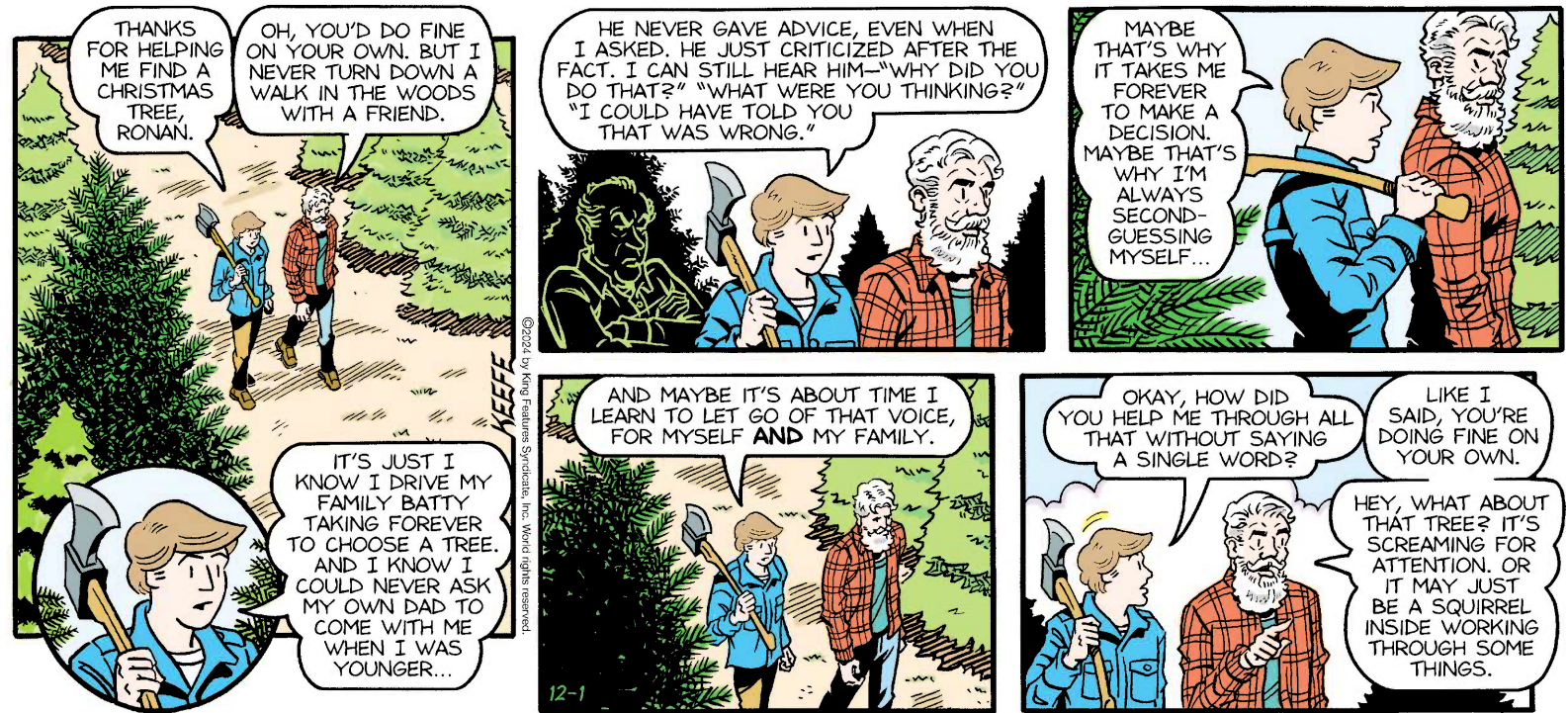
By Mikael Wulff & Anders Morgenthaler



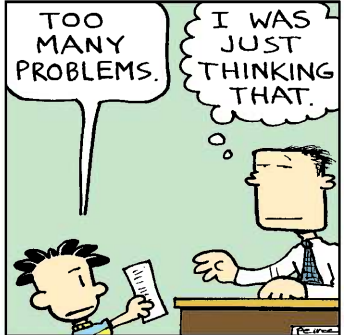
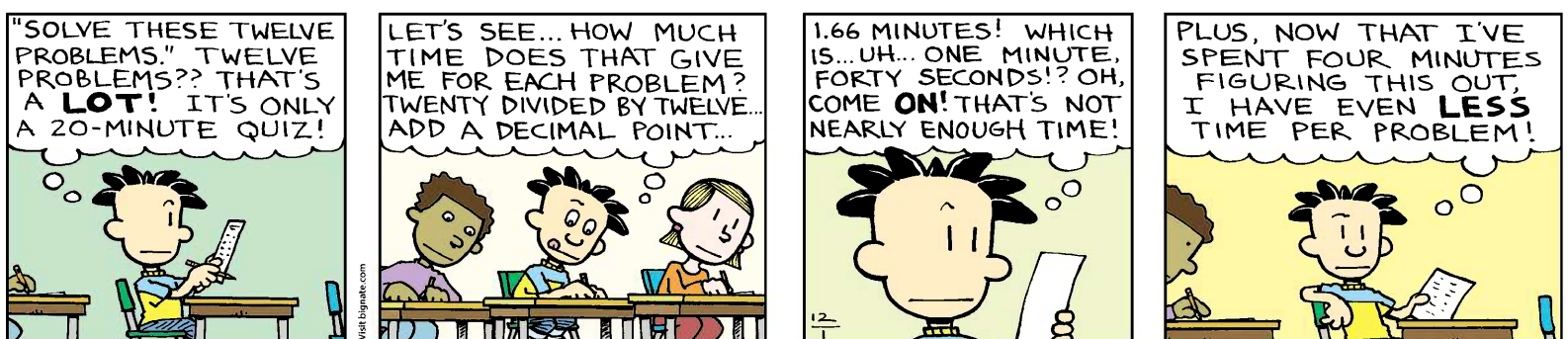
By Steve Kelley &amp; Jeff Parker



By Francesco Marciuliano & Jim Keefe



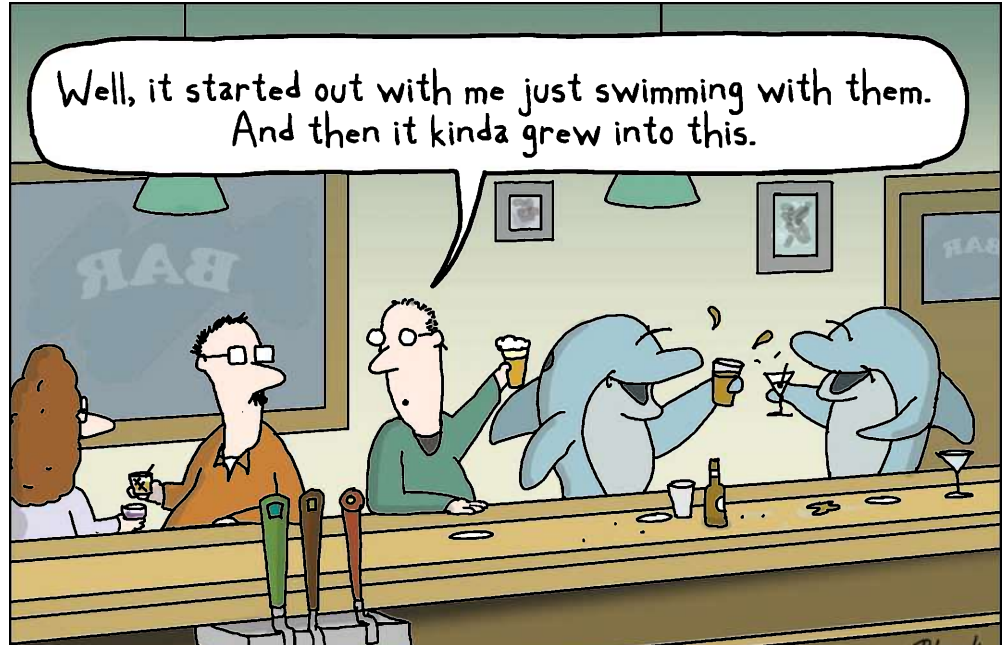
By Lincoln Peirce



By Donna A. Lewis



By Dave Blazek



# JUMBLE KIDS

THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME!®

By David L. Hoyt and Jeff Knurek

The letters of these crazy words are all mixed up. To play the game, put them back into the right order so that they make real words you can find in your dictionary. Write the letters of each real word under each crazy word, but only one letter to a square.

DEU  
□ □ □

ESDH  
□ □ □ □

SEMS  
□ □ □ □

EYRA  
□ □ □ □

Get the free JUST JUMBLE app - Follow us on Twitter @PlayJumble

Do I have the right place? Is this 1954? Looks good!

That's us. Good timing. We need those decorations.

WHAT CAN A HOUSE "WEAR" THAT SOUNDS LIKE AN ARTICLE OF CLOTHING?

Color me

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Now you're ready to solve today's Jumble For Kids. Study the picture for a hint. Play around with the letters in the circles. You'll find you can put them in order so that they make your funny answer.

Print the answer here:

ANSWER (HOLD UP TO MIRROR)

2024

2024

2024

2024

2024

2024

2024



# Agnes

by TONY COCHRAN

That's it for the trade-in??

by HILARY B. PRICE

WHAT'LL IT TAKE FOR YOU TO DRIVE OUT OF HERE TODAY IN ONE OF THESE?

# The FAMILY CIRCUS

By BILL KEANE

by DAVE COVERLY

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# Mutts

Patrick McDonnell

FLASH GORDON

By Dan Schkade

FLASH GORDON CALLS IN -- HE, THE QUEEN AND THUN FOUND THE CRASHED GYROSHIP.

THE SHARK CITY AMBASSADOR, VELLE, WON'T ANSWER KING JUGRID'S QUESTIONS ABOUT IT.

NOW, I'M JUST DOVA. I WAS A SERVING GIRL A FEW MONTHS AGO. I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT ESPIONAGE.

SHE FIGURES OUT THE RADIO TECH WHO REPORTED THE SHIP MISSING...

AS SOON AS WE QUESTION HIM, HE BOLTS. HE GRABS AN AIRCYCLE AND MAKES FOR THE COASTLINE...

IT SMELLS LIKE SHARK.

JUDGE PARKER

By Francesco Marciuliano & Mike Manley

AFTER THANKSGIVING DINNER AT ALAN'S...

I KNOW. IT'S BEEN TEN MONTHS SINCE YOUR SISTER SUDDENLY SHOWED UP HERE ...

AND JUST AS QUICKLY RAN AFTER IT LOOKED LIKE SHE COMMITTED MURDER.

WHICH IS WHY I HAVE TO SHOW YOU SOMETHING.



HAL FOSTER'S

Prince Valiant®

BY SCHULTZ AND YEATES

VAL AND ARN CELEBRATE THEIR VICTORY OVER WITGAR WITH THE GAELIC RAIDERS WHO JOINED THEIR CAUSE. AS TANKARDS ARE DRAINED AND REFILLED, A DUEL OF EPIC BALLADRY ENSUES. GALLCHOBAR SINGS FIRST: "OLD MAN VALIANT CHASED A SAXON, HIS FINE BLADE TO RETRIEVE, BUT IT WAS MAHON MACMAHON THE GIANT SLEW THE SAXON. I DO BELIEVE!"

VAL ESCALATES THE SKIRMISH: "A MIGHTY CHIEFTAIN YOU MAY BE, WITH PILES OF FOES LYING DEAD. BUT I BELIEVE, IN YOUR MANY BATTLES, YOU'VE BEEN HIT TOO OFTEN IN THE HEAD!"

GALLCHOBAR MOCKS: "NOW I THINK IT BE ONLY FAIR TO PUT THIS FRIENDLY BANTER TO REST. TOO BAD, OLD MAN, YOU WILL PROVE NO CHALLENGE IN A RAIDERS' FIRE CONTEST."

VALIANT SNEERS: "YOU CALL THIS A CONTEST? WE SHALL SEE - WHO'S THE BIGGEST LIAR - THOU OR ME?"

"GOOD SIR, I AM INSULTED THAT YOU SHOULD DOUBT THIS FINE BRIGAND'S WORD. FOR THE TALES THAT PASS THESE GAELIC LIPS ARE THE TRUEST YOU'VE EVER HEARD!"

4582 YEARS 12/1/24

THE REVELERS ROAR THEIR APPROVAL, BUT ARN IS NOT ENTERTAINED...

NEXT:  
A Question of Balance

KIDTOWN

12/1

Did you know that alligators can stick out their tongues ... but crocodiles can't?!

Like CROCODILE, the following creatures contain the letters OC in their names. Can you fill in the blanks to identify them?

1) Member of the parrot family:  
[ ] o c [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

2) Medium-sized spotted wildcat:  
[ ] o c [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

3) North Atlantic saltwater ray-finned fish:  
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] o c [ ]

4) Thick-skinned, horned animal:  
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] o c [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

5) Bird with extravagantly colorful plumage:  
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] o c [ ]

Answers: COCKATOO, OCELOT, HADDOCK, RHINOCEROS, PEACOCK

Like ALLIGATOR, the following creatures contain the letters IG in their names. Can you fill in the blanks to identify them?

1) Dangerous striped big cat:  
[ ] i g [ ] [ ]

2) Also called a swine or hog:  
[ ] i g

3) A large species of lizard:  
i g [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

4) Tiny wingless mite that causes an itchy bite:  
[ ] [ ] i g [ ] [ ] [ ]

5) Insect that DOESN'T REALLY burrow into you:  
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] i g

Answers: TIGER, PIG, IGUANA, CHIGGER, EARWIG

TRUE but STRANGE

Crocodiles and alligators can bite through bone, but they can't actually chew their food!

Use the News

Can you find another dangerous animal in today's paper? If you are struggling, check out the names of sports teams!

SLYLOCK FOX

While checking into a hotel, Slylock Fox received a scrap of paper from an informant noting the number of a room about to be robbed. Slylock then texted a photo of the room number to Max Mouse with instructions to meet him at the room in five minutes. However, Max ended up at the wrong room, two floors up. What caused the confusion?

Solution - In uncharacteristic haste, Slylock accidentally texted an upside-down photo of the room number. Instead of heading to room 608, Max went to room 609.

HOW TO DRAW a mother and baby kangaroo

12-1

YOUR DRAWING

Today's terrific artist is Josie, age 10

Submit your drawing to [www.slylockfox.com](http://www.slylockfox.com)

True or False

1) There are more kangaroos than people in Australia.

2) Kangaroos are very poor swimmers.

3) Kangaroos can't move backward.

Answer - 1) True, There are roughly twice as many kangaroos as humans in Australia. 2) False, kangaroos are excellent swimmers. 3) True, kangaroos can't move backward.

Spot six differences between these panels.

Answer - Eyebrow, label, dog's name, drop, medicine label and watch.

Have fun solving a new comic puzzle every day at [www.slylockfox.com](http://www.slylockfox.com)

GARFIELD

LOOK, ODIE'S RUNNING IN HIS SLEEP!

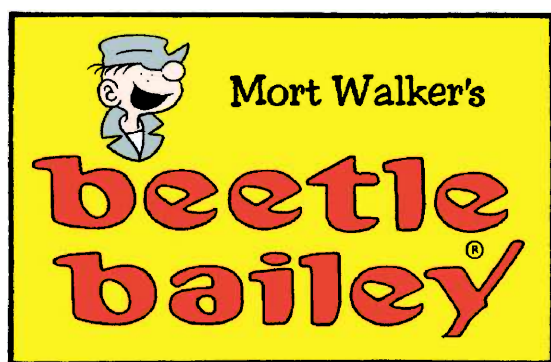
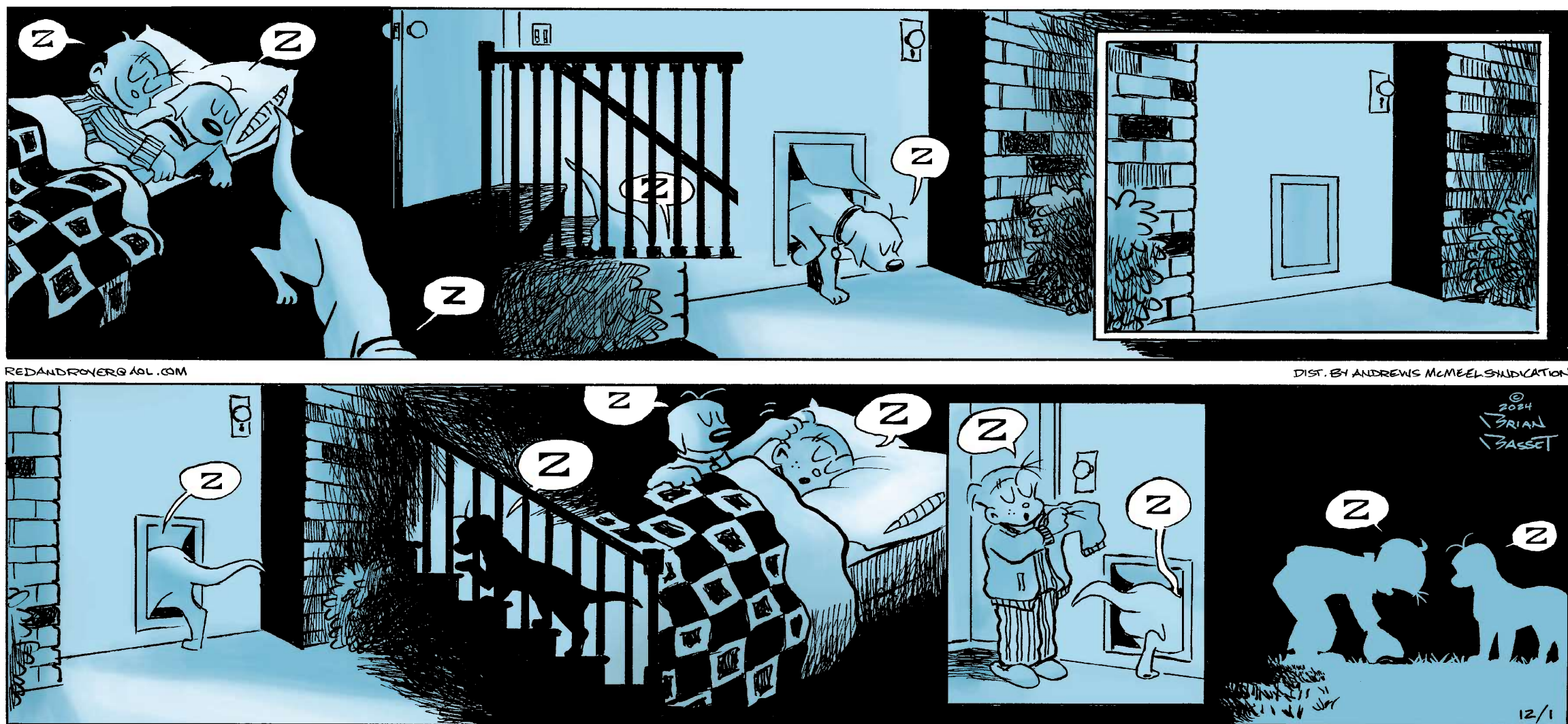
I BET HE'S CHASING A SQUIRREL!

GET THE SQUIRREL, BOY! GET THE SQUIRREL!

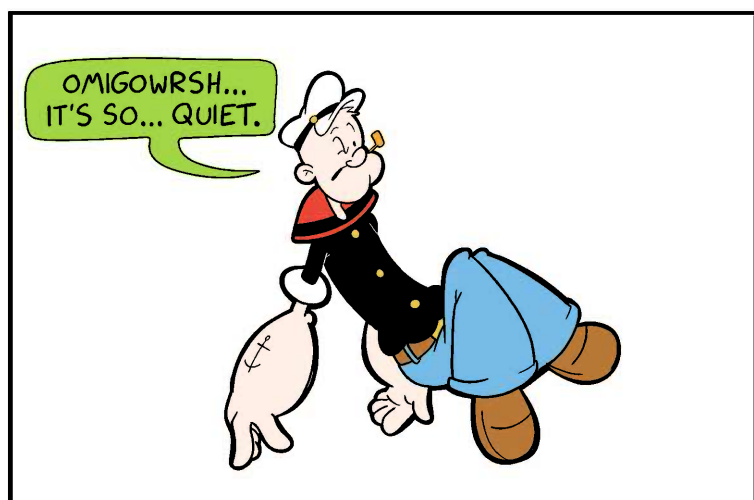
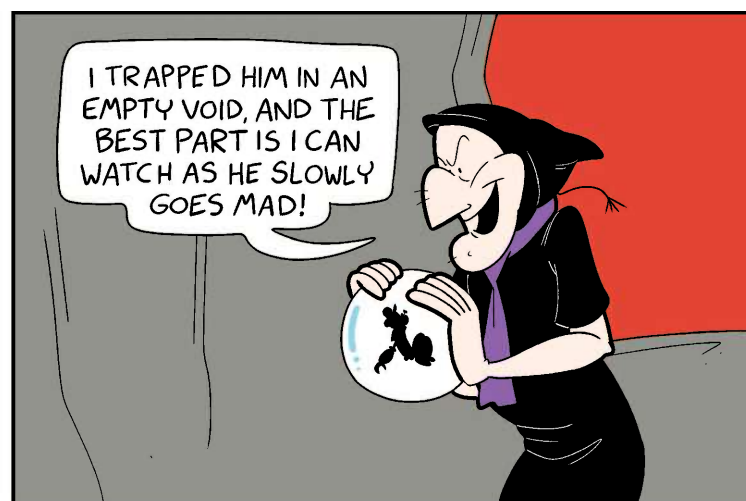
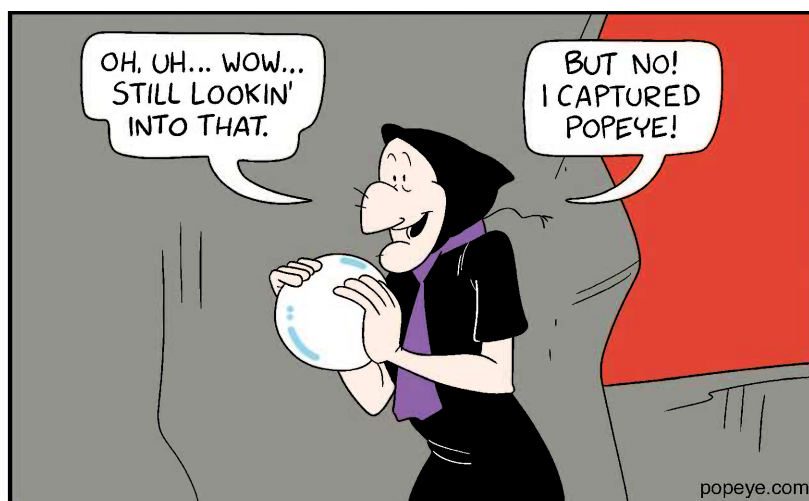


## RED AND ROVER

By Brian Basset

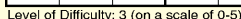
**POPEYE**

By Randy Milholland





(c) www.djape.net



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